

THE ANDOVER REVIEW

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EDITED BY

EGBERT C. SMYTH, WILLIAM J. TUCKER, J. W. CHURCHILL,
GEORGE HARRIS, EDWARD Y. HINCKS,

*Professors in Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass., with the
coöperation and active support of their colleagues in the Faculty,
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RANKE AND HIS METHOD.¹

"GREAT men do not make their age, neither are they made by it. Being original, they take an independent part in the conflict of ideas and of the powers which mould the world; the mightiest of these ideas and powers they develop, and they themselves are developed by them." This was one of Ranke's last inferences in taking a survey of the world's history, and so far as it is true of scholars it applies in an eminent degree to himself. He was in sympathy with the scholarly tendencies of the age, but maintained his independence and inaugurated a new course of historic research; and in studying the conflicts of history he sought to apprehend those factors which have an abiding significance, and will exert a moulding influence on the future as they did on the past course of events. His place is not with the eminent men who make history. The past as well as the present taught him that "extensive scientific attainments and energetic activity are rarely united in the same person;" and he deliberately withdrew from the busy scenes of the present in order to consecrate his powers to the contemplation and description of those events which developed the nations and shaped the world's progress.

More even than the man of action does the thinker depend on the future for the discovery of his place in humanity. That future

¹ For Ranke's Life the principal sources are: *Leopold von Ranke; Lichtstrahlen aus seinen Werken, mit einem Lebensabriss*, by Arthur Winkler; two articles on Ranke in *National-Zeitung* and *Nord und Süd*, by Dr. G. Winter; *Zu Leopold von Ranke's Heimgang*, by his son, Rev. Otto Von Ranke; *Jugend-erinnerungen, mit Blicken auf das spätere Leben*, by Heinrich Ranke. The principles and method of Ranke are taken from his works. Valuable articles on Ranke by his pupils, Hans Pruetz, Constantin Roessler, and Alfred Stern, may be found in *Unsere Zeit*, August; *Preussische Jahrbuecher*, July; *Die Nation*, May 29, 1886.

is the only impartial judge. Ranke wanted each life to speak for itself, and therefore did not regard praise or censure as the office of biography. His contemporaries have assigned him a place in history similar to that of Goethe in poetry, Hegel in philosophy, and Humboldt in science. The conviction is universal that his death has robbed us of the first historian of the nineteenth century. This estimate is the more significant because he became celebrated as an author over sixty years ago, and the present generation can hardly claim to be contemporary with him; besides, his excellences lie beneath the surface, and require study. Future inquiries may discover new materials which shall prove some of Ranke's conclusions erroneous; he may have missed certain truths or aspects of truth; perhaps in some of his works he depended too exclusively on official reports to rulers and states; and if republics continue to live, the time may come when the historian will concentrate more attention on the people and the impulses which spring from them, and less on diplomats, generals, and monarchs. But whatever may be the future estimate of his writings, we can contemplate the remarkable features of his life, may learn the principles which controlled his researches, and can discover the chief elements in his critical method and in his process of investigating the sources of history. Ranke makes an epoch in historic study; and the comprehension of this epoch is at present one of the chief benefits in the study of the man and his works.

Ranke's life lacked those stirring incidents which make biography popular. It was very quiet and studious. His imagination and sympathies were well developed, but subservient to pursuits purely intellectual. His thought moved in the great events of the past, and his life was absorbed in the effort to make them live before the present and future generations. The length of his life, his remarkable mental freshness and elasticity till its close, his untiring energy, and the complete concentration of his powers on one purpose, enabled him to accomplish an amount of work that is astonishing. Nature and circumstances seem to have combined to make him a great thinker and an eminent historian.

Leopold Ranke, the oldest of seven children, was born December 21, 1795, in Wiehe, Thuringia. There was good reason for the affection he cherished through life for the home of his childhood; not only was the region beautiful, but the home itself was the abode of piety and culture. The father, a lawyer of means, afforded his sons the highest educational advantages. He possessed an excellent library, consisting largely of historical works.

After attending school in his native place Leopold, at the age of eleven, entered the cloister school at Donndorf, and three years later the gymnasium at Pforta, celebrated for its training in the humanities, particularly in the classics. His story is the usual one of promising lads. To quickness of apprehension and a retentive memory he added unusual diligence and thoroughness. His progress in Latin and Greek seemed to justify the hope of his teachers and father that a brilliant career awaited him. On the father's birthday Leopold presented him with a metrical translation of three tragedies of Sophocles, his favorite author while at the gymnasium. He had pleaded to be taken to Pforta because there was nothing more for him to learn in the cloister school; and a year before completing the course at Pforta he requested to be sent to the university of Leipzig, in order that his studies and time might be at his own disposal. The request was granted, and on leaving the gymnasium he presented a Latin thesis on dramatic poetry. The masterly treatment of the subject left the impression that he would probably make it his specialty. He entered the university of Leipzig in 1814 as student of theology and philology. Professor Hermann was his teacher in philological criticism, and Thucydides became his favorite author among the classics. In his theological studies, Luther's character and work interested him most deeply, and he then resolved to write on the period of the Reformation. In a late review of his life, Ranke stated that the three authors which had most influenced him were Thucydides, Niebuhr, and Luther. The family hoped he would choose theology for his profession, as his younger brother had done; and in 1822 he preached an Easter sermon. The effort was successful; but his first sermon was also his last. His works, however, reveal a deeply religious spirit and the highest appreciation of religion as an essential factor in individual character, in national life, and in the world's progress. In the broader sense, not in the narrow confessional one, he was a Lutheran.

Ranke's youth was spent amid the most violent agitations of the century, the wars of Napoleon and the uprising of the German people to deliver their land from the oppressor. He was deeply interested in the great historic events transpiring around him, and, in connection with the study of Luther, they may have led him to make the development of which they were the culmination the chief study of his life; but they did not divert his attention from his studies. He took the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Leipzig in 1817, and a year later removed to Frankfort-on-the-

Oder, where he spent six years as a teacher in the gymnasium. Besides his educational duties, he made a specialty of the condition of Europe at the time of the Reformation, and, away from archives and large libraries, prepared his work on the "History of the Romanic and Germanic Peoples from 1494 to 1535." The volume appeared in 1824, but included only the first twenty years. Ranke selected that age because he regarded it as the beginning of modern history, and therefore of special importance for understanding all the periods that followed. In a long Appendix he gave a review and critique of the authors hitherto recognized as authorities, and this at once established his character as an investigator. In recognition of the merits of the work he was appointed professor extraordinary of the University of Berlin in the spring of 1825. In his new position he became associated with men like Niebuhr, Neander, and Hegel, and entered into close relations with Savigny, Boeckh, Alex. von Humboldt, and Ritter. He did not, however, need inspiration from the intellectual circles which gave him a hearty welcome; the principal advantage of his removal to Berlin consisted in the fact that he gained access to a great library, an advantage essential for successful work in his department.

The beginning of Ranke's career at the University of Berlin was by no means brilliant. His voice was weak, his gesticulation lively and strange, and his manner, though scholarly, neither rhetorical nor popular. Those students, however, who accustomed themselves to his peculiarities, and appreciated the wealth of thought in his lectures, found them of great value. His greatest influence at the university was exerted by means of the Historical Society founded by him in 1834. Ranke, as a lecturer, is described by one of his pupils, Adolf Stern: "A small man, with sharp features, a large, protruding forehead, beautiful, beaming eyes, smiles frequently playing on his lips. Reclining carelessly, he would let the forms of the past rise before him, coming as it were out of the twilight of antiquity, and obliged to give an account of themselves. Now and then bright flashes vibrated through obscure sentences, and pointed epigrams interrupted detailed descriptions. It was not to the cathedra, however, that Ranke was indebted for his greatest success as teacher, but to those historic exercises by means of which he aimed to teach the students his scientific method. . . . When a 'Ranke school' is mentioned, we mean first of all the prominent historians who were trained under the influence of direct personal contact with him."

The most gifted students who attended Ranke's lectures also joined this society, in order to be drilled in that method which had made him so eminent. Some of these became associated in historical research and united in literary projects. More than one hundred eminent men have been his pupils, and most of the leading historians of Germany either belong to his school, or else have been greatly influenced by his critical method.

Berlin was Ranke's home for more than sixty years. He came at the age of thirty, spent thirty years as teacher in the university, then withdrew from the active duties of the professorship so as to gain more time for his specialty, and devoted the last thirty years of his life, without interruption, to historic labors. On the death of Niebuhr, in 1832, Ranke was elected his successor in the Academy of Sciences. Four years later, after the publication of the "History of the Popes," he became professor in ordinary. He was appointed historiographer of Prussia in 1841, and in 1886 was raised to the rank of hereditary nobility.

Assisted by Savigny and other leaders in law and politics, he edited the "Historico-Political Journal" from 1832 to 1836. But he neither became a partisan nor took a leading part in political transactions. The passions and intrigues of the day were uncongenial, and furnished no sphere for his talents. On the accession of Frederick William IV., Ranke was drawn more into society, and became a frequent guest at the royal palace. Both there and in his own home his associations were chiefly with scholars, statesmen, and diplomats. Later in life he avoided society, because it consumed too much time.

Were we to follow Ranke in his uneventful career as a student we should have to proceed with him to archives and libraries, and master the numerous works which constituted so large a part of his life. His books had made him famous in Germany long before translations and Macaulay's Essay spread his reputation throughout Europe and America. From the first his eminence was due solely to intellectual achievements. He moved in circles where ideas were power, and letters found appreciation, and where all the influences were calculated to aid and encourage him. His contributions to historiography as well as to history won the admiration of monarchs as well as of scholars, and both Maximilian of Bavaria and Frederick William of Prussia esteemed him as a counselor and a friend.

The youthful old age of the Nestor among historians was the surprise of all who knew him. His closing years were the most

remarkable of his life, and where shall we look for a parallel? When, on his last birthday, which ushered in his ninety-first year, his friends met to congratulate him, they marveled at his mental vigor, and cherished with him the hope that he would live to complete the great work on which he was engaged. Fortunately one of his assistants introduces us to Ranke in his study, after he had passed the limit of fourscore years.

Dr. Winter became Ranke's assistant and amanuensis in 1877, and remained with him two and a half years. When entering upon the engagement he was struck with Ranke's extreme aversion to tobacco. Ranke inquired of Winter whether he smoked. Probably the odor from his clothes was sufficient answer, for Ranke at once continued: "Can you not quit the habit? It is utterly impossible for me to endure the smell of tobacco." But what is a German student without tobacco and beer? The young man had no notion of complying with the astonishing request, but promised not to smoke for some time before appearing in Ranke's presence. But even then Ranke perceived the odor, and the amanuensis was obliged to keep a special coat for work with the historian. He repeatedly manifested this dislike of tobacco, so unusual among German scholars. Once he said to a colleague: "You are a fearful smoker, my dear professor!" It was a mystery to him, Ranke said, how any man of heart could wander about in God's free, beautiful nature, with a cigar in his mouth. The pleasure of his walks in the Thiergarten was marred by meeting persons smoking.

The amount of work performed by the octogenarian greatly astonished his assistant. From early youth Ranke had been a prodigious worker, and with years his genius for toil apparently developed. His life was work, and he himself the best commentary on the motto he chose for his seal, *Labor ipse voluptas*. He employed two assistants, both young men, and kept them busy, often to exhaustion, while he remained fresh, although his work was necessarily much harder than theirs. Every day, Sundays and holidays included, he worked with one from half-past nine in the morning till about two in the afternoon; with the other from seven in the afternoon till midnight or later. Only one evening in the year was there rest, and that was contrary to Ranke's desire. The assistants insisted on celebrating Christmas eve, though Ranke each time tried to persuade one or the other to work. He seemed to require no recreation except that furnished by labor itself. As his friends knew his hours for work, and as strangers

who called during those hours were seldom received, interruptions were rare, and each day passed alike. At nine he rose, breakfasted, then worked steadily till two. In favorable weather he would then walk in the Thiergarten, accompanied by a servant. He dined at four, slept an hour or two, and again worked some five hours. At home he lived in his study gown, not only wearing it during work, but generally while receiving visitors.

Ranke formerly made annual visits to Munich to preside at the meeting of the historical commission; but in his last years, with a single exception, he made no journeys. This exception occurred when he accepted an invitation to the country residence of Field-marshal Manteuffel, in Topper. To the surprise of his housekeeper, who had never known him to do the like before, he took no books along. His stay was to be short, and he went solely to enjoy the hospitality and conversation of his friend. On returning home he at once resumed his labors. When the assistant appeared in the study, Ranke drew forth a manuscript with the remark, "Here I have a biography of Frederick the Great, which I dictated in Topper." Without his assistants and books, he had dictated that biography essentially as it was afterwards published.

During the last fifteen years Ranke labored under peculiar difficulties. The strain on his eyes, particularly while making researches in archives, had seriously affected his sight. He still wrote to a few intimate friends; all other letters he dictated and then signed. His literary labors alternated between the investigation of historical documents and dictation. He keenly felt the disadvantage of being obliged to depend wholly on others in his researches, and often lamented that he himself could not examine the authorities. Many of these were in foreign languages, and all had to be read to him. Nice and difficult linguistic and historic points required solution, and a vast amount of material, often confused and contradictory, had to be compared and sifted before use in constructing history. Quickness of apprehension, a ready and reliable judgment, an extraordinary memory, a comprehensive grasp of details, and a power of generalization and combination, enabled him, in spite of adverse circumstances, to accomplish work unusual in amount and of rare excellence. When documents from the archives were read to him, as in preparing the "Life of Frederick William IV.," he seemed almost intuitively to know what papers were of value. After the first line or two he would sometimes say, "Omit that; it is not essential:" then a paragraph would be reached when he would exclaim, "Hold on! that is sig-

nificant; we must take an exact copy." Extracts were made of the desired parts, or he dictated what he wanted. These extracts from the documents and the dictations formed the basis of his published works. The materials thus gathered were read to him, and from them he constructed the history dictated to his amanuenses. Weeks after documents had been read, he could compare their contents and quote passages almost verbatim.

The condition of Ranke's library added to the difficulties of his task. It was perhaps the largest private library in Germany, — filled five large rooms, with shelves in the middle as well as along the walls, — and contained some twenty or twenty-five thousand volumes. The books were in many cases placed two or three deep; there was great want of system in the arrangement; sets were divided, so that books suddenly required for reference, particularly during dictation, could not be found. Every effort to arrange the books systematically Ranke opposed, on the ground that then he would not know where to find what he wanted.

It was owing to his great energy of will that, in spite of disadvantages and infirmities, he was able to accomplish such an extraordinary amount of work in his old age. Fully master of himself, he made everything subservient to his aim. For nearly a score of years he was afflicted with disease of the bladder, and at times was in great pain. His sufferings were most apparent in the morning when he entered the study. After briefly complaining of his infirmity he would say, energetically, "Now we must forget these pains and devote ourselves wholly to the Muse." After laboring for hours without a murmur and without interruption, and after dictating the last word, he would sometimes show signs of complete exhaustion. "This remarkable will-power always filled me with the greatest astonishment," says the assistant. With all his sufferings and physical weakness, he was generally cheerful and spirited.

A new surprise awaited the assistant when Ranke, in his eighty-third year, announced that he was going to write the history of the world. The plan was not new, the son informs us; the suggestion, however, which finally led him to undertake the work, came from the crown prince. He began the enormous task after recovering from an illness during which his life was despaired of. Among his manuscripts he had a compend of universal history, used in his lectures to Maximilian of Bavaria. This gave a general outline of the work. Ranke, however, whose labors had been devoted chiefly to modern history, did not depend on past re-

searches for his materials, but took up the sources of ancient history and entered upon a careful study of details. Every page of the published work bears evidence of the immense labor involved. When the first volume appeared, in 1880, Ranke was eighty-five; and since then a new volume appeared annually, so that before his death six had been issued, and the seventh was nearly ready for the press.

The undertaking of such a task at that period of life looks like defiance of the laws of nature. In no irreverent spirit he repeatedly said, "I have made a compact with God. He must still give me five or six years for the work; then I will gladly go." The boldness of the undertaking, for which a long life hardly seems adequate, was not more of a surprise to his friends than the volumes themselves. Although the work is based on new researches, Ranke deposited in it the results of seventy years of historical study, concentrating all in a comprehensive view of the world's progress. Even in the most obscure and most difficult parts, as where the beginnings of history are discussed and the lines separating fact from fiction are drawn, there are no traces of mental decline. The book reveals a fresh spirit, a rare power of imagination to enter unusual positions and relations, and a remarkable mastery of details. The thought is vigorous and comprehensive, and the construction reveals the same skill as his earlier works. Although largely dependent on the researches of others, there are evidences throughout that in criticising the authorities and in constructing the history he is independent. As it is the world's history, he never loses sight of the development of humanity while describing individuals and national affairs. Obligated to ignore what is merely local and personal, he seeks the universal in the particular, a characteristic of all his writings. More than in his other books, events are condensed; the great epochs are seized, their marked features drawn in bold outline, the ruling traits of the chief actors epitomized. As he follows the nations in their growth and decline, he draws from the direct progress, and also from the zigzag course of development, philosophic inferences respecting life, character, and history; and we are sometimes tempted to view the sweeping generalizations as rather a philosophy of historic processes than history itself. Taking the work as a whole, and considering its character, its volume, and the amount of energy, thought, and labor required, it is probably the greatest intellectual task undertaken and accomplished at his age. It was hoped that he might be spared to complete the work to the close

of the fifteenth century, his other books including the principal events from that time; but his seventh volume ends with the Emperor Henry V.

His intellectual freshness, energy, and productivity, continued until his last illness. When he entered on his ninety-first year he cheerfully responded to the numerous birthday congratulations and addresses, gave an account of the principles which had controlled him in his labors, and spoke hopefully of completing his "History of the World." Such, in fact, was his confidence and energy, that he even cherished another literary project. After finishing that work he intended to write, his brother states, a philosophy of history, giving his views of the principles, the controlling factors, and the laws of historic development.

During his last illness he one day left his bed to enter the library, not waiting for the assistance of his attendant. "His mind was filled with great thoughts on the supreme problems of his science. . . . Buried in thought, he wandered about the room, stumbled, and fell." This incident is related by his brother, who, as well as the physician, regarded the shock received as probably the occasion of the fatal termination of the disease. Ranke informed his daughter that at that time he had been inspired with thoughts of such grandeur as had never before occupied his attention. Suddenly, as if thrust from a bright height into an abyss, he had been robbed of those ideas by the fall.

The event reminds us of the account of the death of Tiberius. To the statement that the emperor left his bed and then broke down, Ranke adds: "It is not unusual for a dying man once more to summon all his strength, and then to become the victim of his last exertion."

Dr. Winter gives another instance which contradicts our usual notion of the effect wrought on the mind by old age and disease. Seven years ago the first volume of the "History of the World" was in manuscript, the preface alone unwritten. Ranke suddenly became very sick, and his death was daily expected. For weeks work had to be suspended. Then one morning, after receiving an account of Ranke's condition that was by no means satisfactory, the assistant was requested to come to the study. Ranke was already there and waiting, although he had received strict orders from the physician not to leave his bed. He would listen to no remonstrance, but ordered the assistant to prepare to write. He stated that during the night he had suffered from fever, which prevented sleep, and therefore he had used the time to compose the

preface to his *History*. Thereupon he dictated that preface substantially in its present form. He requested the date to be added, since life is so uncertain, and it might be of interest to know when it was written.

The last illness is described by his son, Rev. Otto von Ranke, of Potsdam. Until old age his children had never known him to be sick. The disease already mentioned resulted from a cold in 1867, became more and more severe, and caused great suffering. So ill was he in November, 1885, that it was feared he would not complete his ninetieth year. He recovered, and continued his labors as usual; but in April, 1886, his physician informed him that he must change his mode of life, and no longer work till after midnight. He then retired earlier, but tried to gain two more hours for work during the day. In the beginning of May he was in good health and excellent spirits, and much was hoped from the increased rest at night. But on the sixth he became seriously ill. The physician stated that if it had been any one else, he would say that he could not live through the night, but that in Ranke's case he hoped work would be resumed on the morrow. On the seventh the study table was moved into the bedroom, and he worked two hours with an assistant. Next day, exchanging the bed for the sofa, he worked longer. The hope of entire recovery was now cherished; but on the ninth the fall occurred. His mind was, however, still fixed on his work, and on the tenth he said to his assistant, "What a pity you were not here during the night! We should have completed the last chapter of the seventh volume. I had the whole in my head." He continued to work until the twelfth, after which he was confined to bed, much of the time unconscious. It was thought that his powers must be exhausted, and that consequently the struggle would be short, but it was of unusual length. During lucid intervals he took comfort in the reading of the Psalms, and conversations with his children gave evidence that all idea of work had vanished. Bulletins of his condition were issued daily, and from near and far, from royalty, from scholars, and from the common people, came inquiries and words of sympathy. He died on the evening of the twenty-third of May.

The long conflict was regarded as evidence that it was not the exhaustion of age, but the effect of the fall, which occasioned the fatal result of the disease.

The death of the retired scholar excited as general an interest as if it had been a national calamity. From all parts of the em-

pire telegrams and letters of condolence were sent to the family, among them messages from the emperor, the empress, the crown prince, Prince Albrecht of Brunswick, and Prince Bismarck.

On the evening of the twenty-fifth of May the son delivered a memorial discourse to the members of the family and a select number of friends. The funeral took place the next day, Dr. Koegel, chief court-preacher, officiating. The streets through which the long procession passed from the house to the church were thronged. The procession itself consisted of the city authorities, members of the Academy of Sciences, professors and students of the university, literary men, artists, and learned societies. Within the church the scene was so brilliant as to seem a mockery of death. The coffin was buried under wreaths and palm branches. Among the numerous officers in bright uniform the crown prince was most conspicuous. The high officials wore the insignia of their office, and men distinguished in art, literature, and science were adorned with orders conferred by their sovereign. The orders of the dead, however, far outnumbered those worn by any of the living. They were decorations from the Kings of Prussia, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Sweden, Belgium, Greece, and Servia, and the Dukes of Baden and Hussia. Borne on cushions by three young men, they were placed at the foot of the coffin, their diamonds flashing brilliantly, while "the eye of Old Fritz," as that of Ranke has been called, was closed in death. The little body of the great man was deposited in a grave beside that of his wife in the Sophien churchyard. "They buried him like a prince," it was said. And was he not a prince?

In turning from the life of Ranke to his works, we cannot discuss their contents, or even consider their leading characteristics. Not on his histories, but on his contributions to historiography, we concentrate our attention, in order to learn his conception of history, and the principles and method adopted in his researches and compositions.¹

¹ His principal works are: *History of the Romanic and Germanic Peoples from 1494-1514*, published in 1824; *The Princes and Peoples of Southern Europe in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 1827; continued 1834-36, under the title, *The Roman Popes, their Church and their State, in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*; *German History in the Period of the Reformation*, 6 vols., 1839-47; *Nine Books of Prussian History*, 3 vols., 1847, 1848; *French History, especially in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 1852-61; *English History, same period*, 9 vols., 1859-68; *History of Wallenstein*, 1869; *German History from the Religious Peace to the Thirty Years' War*, 1869; *The Origin of the Seven Years' War*, 1871. These were followed by works on *Frederick William IV.*,

Both the principles and method of Ranke were completed when his first work appeared, in 1824, and they determined the character of all his writings. Like other great truths which have given birth to epochs, these principles seem to be self-evident; yet their clear enunciation and unreserved adoption are among Ranke's chief merits. It is the office of history to furnish a correct narrative of events. This does not mean a superficial account of what transpired before the eyes of men, for that would limit history to description; the characters and motives of historic persons, and the causes of events, also lie within the sphere of the historian. The depth and breadth of his subject become apparent when we consider that nothing pertaining to human thought or emotion or conduct, so far as it influences history, is excluded from his inquiries. But this consideration also reveals the difficulties in his undertaking. Within the narrowest limits of historic inquiry, an exhaustive account of events, motives, and tendencies is out of the question; how much more when nations or the whole world, long periods of time, and an infinite variety of complicated events, are involved? The historian is, consequently, obliged to concentrate his thoughts and inquiries on persons and events in immediate connection with the course of history. Even these, however, are so entangled and complicated that a correct description and interpretation must ever remain an ideal. This Ranke understood; but never was a life more fully consecrated to its attainment. He saw that, with the same documents before them, and with equal honesty of purpose, different writers may come to opposite conclusions respecting the motives of persons and the significance of events; and many weighty transactions are involved in such uncertainty and confusion that, at best, only surmises and opinions are possible.

To these difficulties, inherent in the very nature of historical investigation, and often baffling the sincerest search for truth, others of a subjective character are added. The study of historiography proves that pure truth has by no means always been the sole or supreme aim of historians. In many cases there was not even an earnest effort to get reliable data, and fiction and fact have been so interwoven that now they cannot be separated. How often has history been written to establish some doctrine or promote some cause, whether ecclesiastical or political! The Catholic

The Revolutionary Wars 1791, 1792, on Hardenberg, and the History of the World. His complete works now comprise forty-eight large octavo volumes, his *History of the World* not included.

and Protestant accounts of the Reformation are striking but not isolated cases. In order that history may be perverted, the writer need not aim deliberately at a perversion of facts, though this has been done repeatedly; a bias of which he himself is unconscious may give a false coloring to his inquiries. "Individual honesty is not synonymous with a love of objective truth," Ranke says.

The deeper an inquiry into the manner of writing history in the past, the more thorough the conviction becomes that an exact formulation and severe application of the principles of historiography are demanded. This was the task which Ranke set for himself at the beginning of his historic labors. He made it the first and last law of the historian that he must aim solely at the discovery, the description, and the true explanation of events just as they occurred. His first work says: "To bring the historic truth before the world is always the ideal." The aim in writing history must be "naked truth without any adornment; a thorough investigation of details, everything else committed to God. Only let there be no invention, not even in the most insignificant affairs, and no phantoms."

In his youth he had learned from Scott's novels how fact and fiction may be blended, and he resolved that truth, in its absolute purity, must be the sole object in writing history. This view of history was, of course, no discovery of Ranke. Niebuhr had emphasized it; but Niebuhr evidently placed too much confidence in his ability to construct history where there were gaps in the documents. "I am an historian," he said; "for from a single event that has been recorded I can construct a complete picture, and I know where groups are wanting, and how they can be supplied." In the use of this power of construction Ranke was more reserved than Niebuhr. He insisted on adhering strictly to what has been transmitted, and what may, with certainty, be inferred therefrom. Hence he did not regard it the business of the historian to explain everything, or to express positive convictions respecting doubtful occurrences. His pretensions are circumscribed by the extent of the reliable authorities. Limited by the modesty of truth, he must frankly admit necessary imperfections rather than lay claim to knowledge beyond his reach.

In applying the rigors of science to historic research Ranke rejected as extraneous certain aims which had been attributed to history. Not for entertainment or edification is it to be written, but for instruction. The instruction, however, must be purely historic; that is, history aims solely to teach what actually tran-

spired. Not praise nor blame, but a narration of real occurrences, is the historian's office. Nor is it his mission to gather materials to serve as rules for practical wisdom, or to become the basis of prophecies for the future. "The muse of history is jealous of her service; by dragging the interests of the present into historic labors their independence is usually interfered with." History must be independent, existing for its own sake, and not merely as an auxiliary to theology, ethics, or politics. It has a value of its own, and deserves to be studied for its own sake. Ranke more than any other writer made history an independent science. The preface to his first work says: "It has been regarded as the office of history to judge the past, to serve the present, and to instruct the future. This work has no such ambitious purpose; it merely wants to show what actually occurred." In another place he writes: "A strict representation of the events, however limited and devoid of beauty, is undoubtedly the supreme law." Poetry may invent and philosophy speculate, but history is tethered to facts. In constructing the temple of history the historian regards the facts as separate stones which must be united; but he is an architect who is controlled by the severest rules. Art is not excluded; Ranke himself was a consummate artist. But the art must be an outgrowth from history, not foreign to it, and must be subservient to the facts themselves; and all that genius can do is of value only so far as it presents in a living, real form the truth of history. If we ask for the requirements of the historian, he answers, "a critical study of the genuine sources, an impartial apprehension of their contents, an objective representation; the aim is the presentation of the whole truth."

The consistent application of these principles is the test Ranke wants applied to his own and to all historical works. One need but read his books to learn how earnestly he labored to attain his ideal. As one of his oldest pupils wrote, he devoted himself wholly to his subject; feared no pains, not even in matters of little moment, in order to learn the truth; everywhere sought materials from the purest sources; strove to test all without preconceived notions, and to determine every point conscientiously; he never professed to know more than the authorities justified; never yielded to delusive security; everywhere sought the essence and tried to apprehend the real significance of the facts and the character of the historic persons, but never for the sake of giving a peculiar coloring to the history or beauty to the description.

The hearty adoption of these principles led to his rigorous

method,— so rigorous because he so highly prized the truth and feared error. This method, so often emphasized as Ranke's peculiar merit and the beginning of a new epoch in historic research, is worthy of special discussion. Instead of making general statements, which might confuse rather than explain, we shall examine the process itself as given by Ranke in his works.

We cannot stop to consider how far his critical method was the product of the age. The influence of the critical philosophy, the growth of science with its severity and exactness, and the impulse given to historical research by men like Niebuhr, no doubt had an effect on his investigations. But chiefly to Ranke himself, devoted in retirement to the study of historic sources, are we indebted for the development of his principles and peculiar method of research. Whatever inspiration came from others, Ranke worked out a method for himself, and made it the law of historic investigation. As his principles exalted the aim of history and made it independent, so his method increased its exactness and reliability.

The laws and method of historic investigation are not drawn from a foreign source, but from history itself. Ranke did not give the method in a systematic form, such as is found in Wundt's *Logic*; but its main features are outlined in the Appendix to his first work. This work, written before he began his researches in the archives of Europe, was based on printed sources. In the Appendix he subjects these sources to the severest criticism, in order to determine their value, and to discover whether they are founded on original knowledge or on the reports and documents of others. Did the author want to write the truth? Was he so situated that he might obtain personal knowledge of the events? Could he appreciate them? Could he properly narrate them? How far is the narrative an objective representation of what occurred? Ranke does not state these questions, but it is evident that they were before his mind and controlled the investigation. The questions are largely psychological; and Ranke inquired into the state of the authors in order to discover the value of their writings as sources of history.

As his first work treated of a period regarded by him as the beginning of modern history, a thorough criticism of the authorities was deemed of special importance. In the preface to the edition of 1874 he says: "The twenty years described in it constitute, as it were, the foreground of modern history; the book contains, in some measure, a preparation for most of the later works of the author." In the celebrated Appendix (*"Zur Kritik neuerer*

Geschichtschreiber") he states that he wants to determine which of the writers on that period (1494-1514) possessed original knowledge of the events, and which contain valuable information. Guicciardini (*"Historia d' Italia"*) was regarded by writers on that age as the principal authority, and Ranke proceeds to test his claim to occupy that position. The criticism of his work is followed by an examination of other works generally used as sources, namely those of Mariana, Fugger, Sleidan, Jovius, and authors of inferior rank.

The long, critical inquiry into Guicciardini's work begins with the author's life, in order to learn his character, views, and activity, and to determine his ability to obtain a personal knowledge of the events described. Then the character of the work is critically examined. The history begins at a period when the author was ten years old. He studied law, and two decades more must have passed before he could devote much attention to the observation of events. He spent years in Spain; during this period he could only observe from a distance what took place in Italy. In some of the events described he was himself an actor, and they must be distinguished from those in which he took no part. For a knowledge of the latter he was dependent on research; the former, on account of their great extent, depended in part on investigation, partly on personal knowledge. "Before the book is used at all we must inquire whether the events are based on personal knowledge; and if not, how they were learned and on what kind of research they depended." Ranke finds that even where original documents were within reach the author did not consult them. He freely used Galeazzo, an author popular then but now forgotten. An examination of Galeazzo proves that he is not reliable, and the same result is obtained by a criticism of the other authors used as authorities. Guicciardini, therefore, did not rely on original and authentic documents, but on printed works; and much taken from these can be proved false, while other matter is very doubtful. Consequently his history does not deserve the place it has held as an authority.

The work of Guicciardini contains numerous addresses, ascribed to different persons, and skillfully interwoven into the history so as to form connecting links between the events. These addresses constitute the peculiar and original feature of the work. Ranke's inquiry into their authenticity and historic value shows that some of them were in all probability never delivered, and others not as reported. "We still wait for the man who can

prove a single one genuine." Yet this author, full of mistakes and inaccuracies, was so popular, that within fifty years his book passed through ten Italian, three Latin, and three French editions, and was translated into German, English, Dutch, and Spanish; and until Ranke's criticism it was regarded as the chief repository of materials for the beginning of modern history.

The other authors regarded as authorities on that period are similarly criticised and their defects noted. The histories of various states and particular events are also examined, namely, the Florentine, Venetian, Milanese, Neapolitan, Sicilian, and Papal historians. The Spanish, German, and French works are likewise discussed. The result of the whole inquiry is, that the works on that period which are regarded as sources are neither adequate nor reliable. Thorough sifting is necessary to separate the truth from error. "Only Jovius is really original; yet we find his work full of gaps, more eloquent than deep, and not always impartial."

The criticism is followed by an account of what remains to be done so as to secure a complete and reliable basis for the beginning of modern history, and where the required documents should be sought in Italy, Spain, France, and particularly in Germany. Not only is the greatness of the task yet to be performed indicated, but an appeal is also made to scholars to search for the buried treasures of history. "We pursue unknown grasses into the Libyan deserts; is not the life of our remote ancestors, in our own land, worthy of equal zeal?"

This severe, critical method was the guide in Ranke's researches during a period of over sixty years after the publication of his first book. It is evident that he could not subject all the authorities afterwards used to the same exhaustive criticism; but throughout his works the critical process is continued, and everywhere his conscientious thoroughness in the investigation of the character of the documents is apparent. His published extracts from the authorities and the criticisms on them would fill several volumes. Hints on the character of the documents used are not confined to foot-notes; they are often woven into the text. Through the history itself he gives us glimpses of the reports and traditions on which it is founded. He wants to keep no secrets from the reader, but gives him a view of the defects and doubtful points which he himself discovered in the sources. Thus, while his relentless criticism shakes our confidence in historic writers of the old school who were less severe, we feel that his very method makes his own

history reliable, being the product of the only valid process of construction.

As a further illustration of his method and its application we shall give a summary of those researches which culminated in the "History of the German People during the Period of the Reformation," completed in 1847.

Ranke was well aware that for the construction of the early periods of modern history his principles and method demanded such extensive researches that any one man can perform but a small share of the work. How faithfully he did his part is evident from the investigations which began with his residence in Berlin. The published works, on which his first book was based, were not sufficient for the periods following the beginning of the sixteenth century; therefore he began to search for unpublished documents in archives and libraries. On the title-page of his next book, "The Princes and Peoples of Southern Europe in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," he states that the work is founded mainly on unpublished reports of ambassadors. The preface informs us that the book would not even have been undertaken if nothing but published works had been accessible. He regarded as of most value the reports of the Venetian ambassadors. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the commercial and political relations of Venice were so extensive and important that her best citizens were sent to the various courts of Europe. They forwarded reports to Venice every fortnight, and on returning home gave full accounts of their observations abroad. The representatives of the Pope, of the King of Spain, and of the dukes of Ferrara and Florence, sent similar reports to their sovereigns. These were deposited in public archives; but cardinals and other eminent persons sought to obtain possession of them, or at least copies, and in this way numerous private collections were founded, especially in Rome. Copies also made their way into Germany. In the Royal Library of Berlin Ranke found forty-eight folios containing such reports. They are particularly valuable for the history of the second half of the sixteenth century. Four similar volumes opened to him in Gotha, and one was in his own possession. Of the contents of these fifty-three folios he made himself master, and on them based the first volume of his "Princes and Peoples of Southern Europe." The continuation of this work, as already stated, constitutes his celebrated volumes on the "History of the Popes." This required new materials and research in other cities. For his purpose the archives of Vienna proved to be much richer

than those of Berlin. From Vienna he proceeded to Venice, Florence, and Rome. The library of St. Mark's and the state archives in Venice supplied important documents. He could only use under restraint the treasures of the Vatican, but other rich collections in Rome were placed at his disposal. The vast amount of material gathered from these various sources formed the basis of his "History of the Popes." In an Appendix of nearly three hundred pages he refers to the principal manuscripts used, and gives copious extracts and important critical hints.

After completing the "History of the Popes" (1836), he began the special researches for his "History of Germany during the Period of the Reformation." In the autumn of 1836 he examined the collections in Frankfort-on-the-Main, and found ninety-six folios with important reports on the German Diets from 1414-1613. "I took occasion to make the contents of sixty-four of these volumes, coming down to 1551, my own." But, as he says, "everything could not be known to a single city;" so he looked for more material in other places. In the beginning of 1837 he obtained permission to use the secret archives of Prussia, in Berlin; and in April, the same year, the archives of the kingdom of Saxony were opened to him. What he found was very valuable, but not enough. That year he also used the rich archives of Weimar, then those of Dessau. He had yet others in mind, but feared that the material might become unwieldy and too local, and also considered that other important collections had already been examined by scholars; so he concluded it best to end these researches. His work on "German History during the Period of the Reformation," six volumes, appeared in 1839-1847, and is the result of all his historical studies and researches up to that time.

His elaborate preparation for the history of that period is an evidence of his appreciation of the significance of the Reformation. He said: "One cannot approach an event of such intensive intellectual content and, at the same time, of such external world-wide significance, without being deeply moved and absorbed by it." From his youth he had looked upon Luther with great admiration, and as early as 1817, the jubilee of the Reformation, he thought of publishing a volume on "The Gospel of Martin Luther."

But important as the work was in itself, and significant as the culmination of long, profound, and extensive critical research, this book and all others thus far published by him have a value for history independent of their historic contents. They contain revelations of the valuable treasures buried in the archives of Europe,

and gave an impulse to scholars to enter upon new investigations. Ranke became the guide of other investigators to the neglected sources of modern history; and in later editions of his books he could refer to the great progress made in the use of unpublished materials since the first edition appeared, a progress to which he himself had given the impulse, and for which he had marked out the way.

Regarding his works as a very essential part of his life, we see in them both the ethical character and the intellect of Ranke. All that has been said, however, is only an introduction to the man himself, a thorough acquaintance with his books being necessary for a knowledge of their author. He lived in history, sought its beginnings, its great ideas, its chief actors, its significant events, and its tendencies. His familiarity with the past gave him deep insight into the agencies working in the present; and Niebuhr pronounced his volume on the Servian Revolution "the best book on a contemporary event, one whereof Germany may be proud."

The mastering of details is indispensable; it, however, furnishes only the fibres and members which constitute the great organism of history. Ranke is ever on the alert to discover the relation of persons, nations, and events to the historic processes of humanity itself; and his efforts to follow the threads which lead from the particular to the universal remind one of the chief aim of philosophy. This tendency, and the ethical element which permeates all his works, prepare us to believe the report that in early life Fichte was one of his favorite authors. But while his books reveal a tendency to philosophic generalization and inference, he who found fault with Goethe for neglecting inquiry into facts when within reach, and with Hegel for idealizing history too much, was not the man to ignore real events or to indulge in undue speculations.

Besides Ranke's method, there was a rare combination of excellences, which made his works prominent and influential. Their merit is not, as has been claimed, the absence of the subjective element, for that is impossible; but the fact that objective reality is constantly made the law for the subjective apprehension. What he wrote is of course *his* history, and no one will claim for it that perfect objectivity which he himself regarded as purely ideal; but his spirit, his principles, his method, the ethical earnestness in research and the conscientiousness in construction, his art in presenting the facts, and the exalted purpose and independent place he assigned to history, made him a master as an historian and a leader in the science of historiography.

J. H. W. Stuckenberg.

BERLIN, PRUSSIA.

THE TRUSTWORTHINESS OF SPIRITUAL APPREHENSION.

THERE is no question in philosophy so vital as that of the relation of human knowledge to objective being. Philosophy has discovered the hard fact that all our knowledge is but mediate or relative; that strictly the outer world is for us but a bundle of subjective impressions, and that to pass from this subjective world of sense-impressions and postulates to the actual objective world of being-in-itself is impossible except by a leap of faith. Attempts have constantly been made to bridge the gulf which it is necessary thus to leap, but ever without success. We may as well accept the situation, and acknowledge that we know nothing outside of us absolutely: all we really know is the varying state of our own consciousness. Even with regard to that simple perception which we are forced to postulate as the true knowledge of material objects, we must be content to say simply with Lotze, "In experience we meet with various sensuous images which we call 'bodies.'"

Here, then, is an absolute limit to human knowledge. So long as we are under our present limitations we can go no farther toward knowledge of actual reality than to know ourselves as affected by certain phenomena. To common, every-day experience, it is true, this seems like immediate knowledge of things; and we act upon it as such, as it is our only wisdom to do. In seeking to apprehend the objective world by observation, we ignore as far as possible the subjective factor in our knowledge, and guard against importing ourselves consciously as a modifying element into the concept of the thing known. We do not allow our feelings to sway us in observing cold facts; we make corrections for the personal equation; we hunt out and eliminate prepossessions and prejudice from our logical processes. In all this we have the feeling that the less of the subjective there is in the process of knowing, the nearer we have come to absolute knowledge. We desire, as far as possible, in knowing the world, to confine ourselves to the cognition which seems immediate, and to necessary inferences drawn therefrom. This is the purely inductive method, and this brings us nearest to objective reality.

Now it is evident that in the so-called scientific method, the tendency is to crowd all knowledge down to actual observed fact. I say this is its tendency and preference. The positive scientific

method admits the consciously subjective into its processes only as it were under protest. With this inherent tendency, it says to the idealist, "That which you have announced as truth is really only your wish, your predilection, yourself: you see the world through colored glasses. Let me cast the mote out of your eye, and show you reality uncolored by subjectivity." And yet, as the limitations of our nature admonish us, when the positivist has eliminated the subjective as far as this is possible, he has only brought it to where he is not necessarily conscious of it; he has only got himself where he can make himself believe he knows reality immediately. The idealist can with equal justice retort on him: "After all, when you have done your best, you only know yourself. You think you are going toward absolute knowledge by discarding the subjective factor; and yet you know there is a limit which you cannot pass."

Of course the scientific method, with its protest against confounding the man himself with the object of his cognition, can call its widest generalization — that "infinite and Eternal Energy from which all things proceed" — only the Unknowable. Discarding the affections, it has no organ by which to know his moral qualities. It sees in the gods of all nations, including the God of Christians, only more or less idealized representations of the worshippers themselves. Knowledge into which the subjective thus enters it calls no knowledge at all, but only a creation of the imagination and will. Now from the stand-point of mere science God is indeed unknowable. In every concept of Him which may be defined, positive logic may point out the fact that the God thus conceived of is but the self idealized and projected against the heavens. But then, if we are to eliminate the self entirely from the process and the object of cognition, not only is God unknowable, but so is the outer world. Positive science has, after all, an array of facts on which to base its logical fabric only by not carrying out its principle consistently.

If, then, we are to despair of absolute knowledge because we see a positive limit in one direction, why look for it in that direction at all? Why not turn around and go the other way? We do know ourselves, — why not make the most of that knowledge? Why not welcome the subjective in our cognitive and reasoning processes? If our self-conscious minds are a part of the universe which proceeds from the Infinite and Eternal Energy, why should we not take the self-condemnations, longings, moral ideals, impracticable consciousnesses of power, sleepless aspirations of humanity,

as all counting for something in our knowledge of God? This is indeed what religion does. The religious man does not seek to know God by a purely objective knowledge; he gathers himself into a unity with the object known; he removes from his heart, by acquiring a sense of forgiveness, all that consciously hinders him from union with the Infinite Will; he lives in his aspirations and his purest hopes and longings; he frankly enters into communion with his eternal Ideal by self-crucifixion and assimilation of character. This he calls knowledge of God; and his highest representative and type, with whom he identifies himself in merit and in aim by faith, said in regard to his own knowledge of the Infinite, "I know him because I am one with him."

This is the contrasting method of religious knowledge as compared with the scientific method. The one is seeking for absolute knowledge in a direction in which there is a positive bar to its attainment; the other has its face turned toward that region of knowledge, filled with will and love, ever widening as we rise, of that which is best and holiest in ourselves; and through this medium and method it apprehends an Infinite Love, which is our Father and End, and ever renews its faith in his ultimate revelation to sight by the words of Him who has perfectly carried out this method, and says, "I know him because I do his will;" "I and my Father are one."

Now I believe we may see that this subjective method of apprehending the Universe and its inner Infinite Energy from which all things proceed is really knowledge. At least we may see that it is the knowledge to which as finite beings we are shut up, as we go higher in the scale of things known. Let us observe how knowledge increases in subjectivity as it rises.

I. The higher the object of knowledge, the more of the man is concerned in the act of cognition. Thus we know a material object, in that sense in which we commonly speak of knowing, by mere perception. It is simply, as it were, mirrored in our minds. If our knowledge is to predicate something of that object, — as, for instance, persistence, or likeness or difference from other objects, — we must in knowing it add the faculties of memory and comparison. To cognize such a thing as motion or sequence we need memory. We introduce the notion of cause only by an act of the mind which we have learned, not from observation, but from inner consciousness of will. Observation alone can tell us only sequence; the causal connection between antecedent and consequent is an idea which we acquire only from our consciousness

of volition, as the invariable accompaniment of our free acts. Our notion of force, therefore, is a concept derived from our sense of effort. We may speak of so many horse-powers of force exerted, we may have a wondering thought of the mighty power manifested in some vast natural upheaval; but we have no conception of the nature of that force except as we have consciously put forth effort to produce results which we can compare with the one before us. We think of the force which pervades the universe only in terms of will. Thus as the object of our knowledge rises from mere matter to sequence, motion, force, the powers of the man employed in apprehending it are successively called in to do their part, — sense-perception, memory, consciousness of effort, will. The higher the nature of the thing known, the more of the man is employed in knowing it.

Now, as we pass on to higher objects of cognition, we find the higher powers of the man still more extensively and vitally concerned in the act of knowledge. Such a thing as design can be perceived only by a contriving being. It is because we habitually adapt means to ends, and combine complicated and dissimilar agencies to one rational purpose, that we look for and apprehend such a thing as design in the universe. We are not satisfied with a thing unless it shows some rational adaptation to an end. That which is merely capricious and unrelated to any conceivable utility puts us to intellectual confusion. The effort to understand nature is but the observation and generalization which seeks particularly to find adaptations existing, ends subserved, order and correlation and plan in the various phenomena of the universe. But there would be no thought of such a thing, no curiosity to find it, no satisfaction in classifying facts and thinking out relations, if man were not a rational and contriving being. He lays the form of his own mind alongside the universe; and he predicates rationality of the existing order just because he finds his thinking self and the world to correspond. So this higher entity — this fact of rational design — is perceived only by that faculty in us which is higher than mere sense-perception, memory, comparison, will, — that faculty of contrivance, the creative mind. To assert design in nature is but to say that there is something corresponding to what we have in ourselves, and of which we are conscious, namely, an impulse and power to adapt means to ends.

But now comes a still higher concept, the thought of benevolent design as disclosed in the universe. It is not simply the man perceiving, willing, contriving, that is at work upon this thought; it

is the man loving goodness and mercy. He would have no conception of benevolence if there were not something benevolent in himself. In proportion as his heart strives in the forming and executing of benevolent purposes, — in proportion as the power of sympathy is developed in him, — in that proportion he exercises himself in considering whether ultimate mercy and peace is the end which is advancing toward realization in the world as a whole. And this is true, whether his conclusion from a survey of the facts which come under his observation be that the world is pervaded by benevolence, or whether, like Schopenhauer, he conclude that the sorrow and misery of existence vastly overweighs its happiness. In any case, it is the benevolent man who is seeking benevolence in the universe, and rejoicing in the discovery of it, or sorrowing because its progress toward actualization is hid from his eyes. To exercise one's self in the consideration of the matter is but to compare the world with the mind — to use the whole thinking and well-wishing man as an instrument of cognition, a standard of comparison, in seeking out and measuring the ideas that are embedded in the course of things.

Thus the power and importance of the subjective element increases as the object of cognition rises in rank. The knowing mind imports more and more of itself into the act, and involves itself more and more intimately with the object, so that with more and more justice it might be said of its processes, "You are idealizing yourself and making that creation the object of your knowledge, instead of coming to know what actually exists in unconscious nature." To know these higher things — contrivance, benevolence — is to know things which would have no existence, as such, in the absence of a planning and benevolent mind. Yet these things exist somewhere, in the mind or out of it; and the higher these things rise in rank the more of the mind and will is concerned in apprehending them. Not simply cold, passionless observation, but love, enters into the act. And we can easily see that the Infinite Love, whom some of our race have apprehended as the Father of the Universe, can be known only by all the concurring powers of perception, will, benevolence, and adoration, the whole heart and soul and might of man.

II. As we have passed along from each of these kinds of cognized objects to the higher, we have perhaps noticed that two diverse elements in the process of knowledge have gradually extricated themselves from each other, and become so divergent as to call for separate consideration. The first of these is the simple

concept of the thing, the notion of existence, sequence, causality, design, benevolence. This was all that we cared to concern ourselves with for the moment; and we only sought to show that to form the notion, or to be interested in it at all, required more of the powers of mind and will in proportion as the concept itself came to be of higher rank. But a second element in the process of knowledge began to appear, namely, the consideration whether the thing conceived actually exists in nature or not. Up to a certain point there is no conscious doubt that the thing known exists in the sensible world; that is, that the cognition is the noting of actual fact. Of course I am waiving, for the present, the primal doubt derived from the relativity of our knowledge, which is a doubt below consciousness. But as the subjective element imports itself more and more into the act of knowledge, the question inevitably rises, whether it is objective fact which we are cognizing, or whether it is our own mind projected against the universe. When, for instance, we come to the appearance of design, we know that the concept is derived from our contriving mind, but does that design actually exist in the world or not? There is *bonâ fide* debate whether classification of species is a fact of nature or a fact of mind. We see that mind is beginning to get above nature; and inasmuch as we can hardly endow nature below us with consciousness and purpose, we can but ask, where does the universe get that design which makes it correspond to our conception of rationality? Does it exist there, or have we put it there because our mind, being of a piece with nature, has obediently followed it, and admires its own correspondences as something outside of itself?

The doubt becomes more serious as we come to consider the facts of final cause and benevolent design. These exist as concepts, for we talk and reason about them, and our words convey a distinct meaning. But, as applied to nature, it is a serious question whether we have a right to use the terms *final cause* and *benevolent design* at all. The universe is itself unintelligent, and how shall it subserve a final intelligent purpose? Of course the argument from design for the existence of a creative, ruling Intelligence comes in here; but evolution accounts for the facts without presupposing intelligent design. Unconscious natural selection is indubitably a force that is at work in the world, whether it is strong enough to produce the results which Darwin attributes to it or not. It at least contributes in its degree to make the argument from design inconclusive.

And then the great trouble with that argument is that it at-

tempts to prove too much. Its intelligent creative Power it identifies with omnipotent benevolent Will, and how can benevolence work by such a cruel law as the survival of the fittest? It is not so clear, after all, that benevolent design runs all through the universe. The very rocks of which the earth is built are compacted of the suffering and death of myriads of sentient creatures. Whole classes of animals, endowed with capacities for pain and fear, seem to exist only to be harried and torn in pieces to furnish food for animals that are stronger and more crafty, — a fact which is relieved of its sickening cruelty by being referred to unintelligent survival and development rather than to intelligent design. Whenever we venture to admire the curious adaptation of talons to the prehension and tearing of prey, and thus to the furnishing of sustenance, the opposite fact that prey is torn and suffering and death produced stares us in the face. We seek to assert and believe in a vast benevolent design pervading the universe, but

"Nature, red in tooth and claw,
With ravin shrieks against our creed."

Nor can we lightly pronounce the universe subject to a law of progress. There is change and redistribution, no doubt; but there are those who, from a little different point of view, hesitate to call it progress to something that is higher, and only dare to assert a development from the indefinite and homogeneous to a definite and differentiated heterogeneity. Progress and development do not necessarily mean the same thing. To attempt to divine the end, therefore, toward which the universe is striving, as something high and benevolent, may easily be stigmatized as a most fond and fatuous projecting of our own benevolent subjectivity against the world, and an asserting of correspondence which in places is shown not to exist.

Right at this point, however, the benevolent mind is called upon to involve itself still more intimately with the object of its knowledge, so as to become actually a part of it. Granted that cruelty exists in the universe; who discovered that cruelty and cries out against it? The observing, benevolent mind itself. But does not this mind belong to the universe? The universe, then, contains not only the cruelty, but the mind which strives against it. It contains not only the unintelligent creatures of natural selection, but also the self-conscious and adaptive mind. In its lower strata is unmoral necessity; in its higher realm is freedom and striving after moral purity. In the lower ranks of intelligence there is selfishness, war, bloodshed; but in the same universe, higher up,

there is the gradual coming to supremacy of peace and good-will and self-sacrifice. What she tolerates in the lower realm she strives against in the higher. The stern law of the survival of the fittest is antagonized, as a higher spirit is acquired; and the forthputting of Christian benevolence is to help the weak, the poor, the vicious to survive—to proclaim deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord. When we consider the fact of the existence of benevolence we are to take in ourselves as a part of that fact. The very cry of your soul against cruelty proves that there is something higher in you, if not in the unconscious world of necessity. That very cry is a striving upward toward a power that is infinitely benevolent; and that cry for redemption—"that groaning and travailling together in pain"—is a part of the great universe. With such a travail of soul in the higher realms of God's world, there can be no rest until infinite Love becomes gloriously manifest and supreme.

The universe which we thus cognize as containing an inner principle of benevolence is not the universe that *is*, but the universe that is *becoming*. Observed as it is, especially in those lower parts of it which have not risen to self-consciousness, this benevolence is not indisputably discoverable. But when we include ourselves, and involve ourselves with the object of our knowledge, we discover that benevolence as a striving, a principle of instability, which will not allow of rest until the obstacles to its supremacy are removed. It is in the realm of consciousness that we who have the first fruits of the Spirit discover the ruling benevolence in the world. That benevolence is in us; and it is derived from what we have the likeliest God within our souls. That which is higher than we, that toward which our spirits strive as their end, must also have it, for He has created it in us. He rules the world by it, because as the Father of our spirits He rules us who have his Spirit; because those who will not accept that Spirit as their end are not of the rising, progressive nations of the earth; but all progress and success are in proportion as mercy and truth are embodied in human institutions; because the striving and development in species below us is upward toward free and self-conscious man; because even natural selection and survival of the fittest, which seem so cruel and senseless in their province, are but laboring to bring the universe upward toward infinite Love. Benevolence thus rules, however, not as tranquilly victorious and glorified in final peace, but as militant, as striving, as *coming to*

rule. He who reigns in love does not wait until all that opposes Him is out of the way before He calls himself King; "he must reign *until* all his enemies are put under his feet." It is the universe that is coming to be, rather than the universe that is, of which we know that its immanent and yet transcendent ruling Energy is Love.

In thus knowing the universe, by the aid of our consciousness, as increasingly pervaded by love, it will be observed that we are passing from the realm of fact to the realm of faith. Subjective knowledge begins to outrun fact. It no longer prides itself as does the scientific habit, on admitting no wish, no hope, to share in its process of cognition. It embraces as higher truth things which in this imperfect world have never become actualized fact. It lives in the contemplation, not of what is, but of what shall be, must be. It proclaims that thing as coming, as the only thing that is fit to rule. It is discontented and at war with the present world just in that degree in which the world runs its contented course unmindful of its future. It is self-condemned and abhors its own existence if it loves nothing higher than the present world. It inspires its prophets, who, in contemplation of the glorious future revealing itself in glimpses to their obedient vision, proclaim a truth too high and too progressive for their age, and are persecuted and slain by those whose descendants, coming by later development to accept their message as among the commonplaces of truth, admiringly garnish their sepulchres. Here is knowledge, but it is not knowledge which is behind the world, following curiously its course, and noting its facts as final truth, but knowledge that is ahead of the world and leading the world in its train. It accepts truth, because with its single and spiritual vision it cannot otherwise, and labors to make that truth fact. The subjective knowledge of the universe has become faith.

But it will be observed that the love and will element in knowledge has become vastly more important and overshadowing. Faith and love are engaged in creating their world. The cognizing agent is no longer merely the man observing the universe, including his benevolent self in his object of cognition, and then inferring something as a logical truth. He is actually taking possession of and living in his new world; his treasure is laid up in heaven. He has arrived at his position, not by scientific generalization, but by love. He may not be a scientific man at all; he may have reasoning powers of very inferior order. He may not think of the "Infinite and Eternal Energy from which all things proceed,"

and which without love is unknowable; but he does strive upward toward the Father of his spirit. He is not simply believing and inferring; he is believing and *doing*. Thus "willing to do his will he knows;" he has a religious knowledge of the Unknowable. He is treading the same path with Him who, treading it perfectly and to the end, said, "I can of mine own self do nothing; as I hear I judge, and my judgment is just, because I do not mine own will, but the will of him that sent me."

By this knowledge through the Spirit man has attained to the possibility of revelation. Inspiration is but obedience purified and with a single eye; the pure in heart see God. Much of Old Testament prophecy was local and temporary in its subject and application; but the *spirit* of the prophets was revelation for all time; and the spirit of prophecy is the testimony of Jesus. These men, and Jesus especially to whom they all pointed, looked not at the universe below them to find God; they proclaimed Him to whom all that was best and purest in themselves bowed down. Such knowledge of God is the most subjective of all knowledge. It involves the whole knowing and loving and obeying man, and it sanctifies him in the very act of thus knowing. "This is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent."

George F. Genung.

NEW LONDON, CONN.

NEGLECTED FACTORS IN THE PROBLEM OF REFORM.

REFORM is a large word, which includes the agencies at work both for the cure and the prevention of human ills. The passion for reform is in the air, although as yet there is but a small proportion of attention devoted to stopping suffering and crime by a thorough examination of their sources. In philanthropy the world is hardly more advanced than in agriculture. In Mexico and in Persia a shaft of wood and a stick make a plough. Even in Europe and America philanthropy seldom gets beyond attempts to cure individual suffering and sin. And yet the neglected factors in the problem of reform are daily receiving more attention. The trend of things is in the right direction. We can only hope a little to accelerate its speed.

All organisms are the product of two forces, the parental and the environing. Each man is composed of what has come from his ancestors, and what is absorbed from his surroundings. A state and a social movement are organisms. At the heart of each is a germ of life which draws materials for growth from what touches it, as a grain-seed is nourished by earth, air, and sunlight. The tendencies of a man are determined by his birth, but his actuality is formed by an "infinite number of influences which have a powerful effect upon his ultimate constitution for good or evil." Heredity and environment largely determine human life. While this statement is generally accepted, it is not appreciated.

The object of this paper will be to show that a large part of intemperance, pauperism, and crime are produced by heredity and environment, and consequently that all intelligent and successful effort for the removal of these evils must begin with a study of these facts.

I. *Heredity and Intemperance.*—An examination of the relation of heredity to the alcohol-habit can be easily made, under the direction of specialists too honored to allow of a suggestion of fanaticism. I will condense the testimony of a few experts. Dr. T. D. Crothers, of Walnut Lodge, Hartford, in a paper on "Inebriety and Heredity" (1886), makes the following statements: "Alcoholic heredity, or the transmission of a special tendency to use spirits, or any narcotic, to excess is much more common than is supposed. . . . In the line of direct heredity — or those inebriates whose parents or grandparents used spirits to excess — we find that about one in every three cases can be traced to inebriate ancestors." "Quite a large proportion of these parents are moderate, or only occasional excessive users of spirits. If the father is a moderate drinker and the mother a nervous, consumptive woman, or one with a weak, nervous organization, inebriety very often follows in the children. If both parents use wine or beer on the table continuously, temperate, sober children will be the exception. If the mother uses various forms of alcoholic drinks as medicines, or narcotic drugs for real or imaginary purposes, the inebriety of the children is very common. Many cases have been noted of mothers using wine, beer, or some form of alcoholic drinks, for lung trouble, or other affections, and the children born during this period have been inebriates, while others born before and after this drink-period have been temperate."

In the group of heredities called "indirect," Dr. Crothers finds the cause of about one fourth of all inebriety.

Of the group which he calls "complex border-land cases," or those whose ancestors have been victims of diseases which tend toward the drink-habit, or to conditions which expose to it, he says: "Fully one fourth of all inebriates are of this class. . . . In these cases there seems to be in certain families a regular cycle of degenerative diseases. Thus in one generation great eccentricity, genius, and a high order of emotional development. . . . In the next generation insane, inebriates, feeble-minded, or idiots. In the third generation paupers, criminals, tramps, epileptics, idiots, insane, consumptives, and inebriates. In the fourth generation they die out, or may swing back to great genius, pioneers and heroes, or leaders of extreme movements." The study of a large number of inebriates shows both mental and physical legacies from parents. "Bad-shaped heads and bodies, retarded or excessive growth, club feet, cleft palate, defective eyesight, great grossness of organization, or extreme frailty of development, are common among children of this class. Mental heredity is equally clear. Mental instability and mental feebleness are common. From this mental heritage result: (1) diminution of longevity; (2) the race with the evil entail must die out; (3) where this heredity is retarded, or accelerated, by union with different currents of heredity, strange compounds result, as, for example, if to alcoholic-heredity is united a heritage of insanity, idiocy and all grades of criminals, paupers, and mixed insanities follow." Ribot says: "The passion known as dipsomania, or alcoholism, is so frequently transmitted that all are agreed in considering its heredity as the rule. Not, however, that the passion for drink is always transmitted in that identical form, for it often degenerates into mania, idiocy, and hallucination. Conversely, insanity in the parents may become alcoholism in the descendants. This continued metamorphosis plainly shows how near passion comes to insanity, how closely the successive generations are connected, and consequently what a weight of responsibility rests on each individual." Dr. Morel, of Paris, had an opportunity of proving the hereditary effects of alcoholism in the children of the Commune. He inquired into the mental state of one hundred and fifty children, ranging from ten to seventeen years of age, most of whom had been taken with arms in their hands behind the barricades. "This examination," he says, "has confirmed me in my previous convictions as to the baneful effects produced by alcohol, not only in the individuals who use this detestable drink to excess, but also in their descendants. On their depraved physiognomy is im-

pressed the threefold stamp of physical, intellectual, and moral degeneracy." Dr. Elam, after describing the effects of inebriety on the individual using alcohol, says: "All this, fearful as it is, would be comparatively of trifling importance, did the punishment descend only on the individual concerned, and terminate there. Unfortunately this is not so, for there is no phase of humanity in which hereditary influence is so marked and characteristic as this. The children unquestionably do suffer for or from the sins of the parent even unto untold generations. And thus the evil spreads from the individual to the family, from family to community and to the population at large, which is endangered in its highest interests by the presence and contact of a morbid variety in its midst."¹ Erasmus Darwin, in his "Botanical Garden" (1781), says: "It is remarkable that all the diseases from drinking spirituous or fermented liquors are liable to become hereditary, even to the third generation, gradually increasing, if the cause be continued, till the family becomes extinct."²

Intemperance is both a crime and a disease. It results from many causes, — the foremost among which is heredity. Dr. Crothers accounts for by far the largest part — at least three fourths — of all inebriety either by direct or indirect heredity.

Hardly secondary to this is the influence of environment. The wonder is that so few are intemperate rather than so many. The pernicious environment is very complex. Example does much: other things do more. "Many are miserable because they drink, more drink because they are miserable." Misery as a cause of inebriety is a department of inquiry that the professional reformer seldom touches. Unhappy marriages are responsible for a vast deal of intemperance.

"I must mix myself with action
Lest I wither by despair"

explains a large part of the mad activity of our time. It explains also much dissipation. An environment of suffering, with little resistance from trust in Providence, or from faith that happiness in sequel works with righteousness, results in attempts to drown consciousness in alcohol, or to dull it with opiates. Moderate drinking does not always, or usually, among the better classes end in drunkenness. Its evil is more in the second generation than the first. But failure in business, unhappy domestic life, ill health long continued, change the cry of the poet in "Locksley Hall" to

¹ *A Physician's Problems*, pp. 108, 109.

² *Foundation of Death*, p. 174.

"I must drown myself in liquor,
Lest I wither by despair."

Intemperance is the cause of misery. The reverse is equally true, — misery is the cause of intemperance. When to this is added the fact that in all great cities many people live in conditions which make aspiration and decency impossible; with the saloon under the same roof; with sight and fume of liquor constantly present; live so poorly that anything which apparently will help to digest the tough meat and hard bread is welcome; live so that most of the restraint which comes from the approval of the good is unknown, — the wonder increases that so many live decent lives.

The elements in the vicious environment are many. Where vile water is supplied to the people a large proportion will prefer beer which is usually made with water from artesian wells to that which comes in pipes saturated by the filth of sewers. In three cities at least in my own State of New Jersey, any very radical reform in this direction is impossible until a good water supply is secured. Children grow where every word is vicious, and liquor is as common as water. A child born and reared in such circumstances is almost past praying for, except he be taken out of them and placed where purity and virtue can have a fair chance at him. A large class who become drunkards are young men who live in cities and towns, in boarding-houses. They work all day. Evening comes. Where shall they go? They have no fires in their rooms. They are not wanted at their lodgings. There is no society there. A young man loves society. Where can he go to get it? Into the street? The streets of any large city at night are full of temptations. He thinks he will try the Young Men's Christian Association. That is for members. He thinks he can at least go into the reading-room. But there he finds a sign saying, "Any persons not members must apply at the desk for permission to enter." He goes out. Shall he go to a church? The churches are closed, and as cold and gloomy as prisons. But the saloon is always open. There is music; there are papers; there is rational and decent amusement; there are a lot of genial fellows, and there is the devil manipulating them all. I have walked the streets of large cities and tried to find some place in which I could pass the evening pleasantly, and the only doors open to me, with my resources, were those of the theatre and of the saloon, and of what is equally persistent and more infamous. The wonder is that men in such circumstances are as decent as they are. Many of them were born of drunkards, and they are in conditions that stimulate all

that is bad within them. They are compelled to live so that decency and sobriety are almost impossible. Heredity furnishes the vitiated nature; environment surrounds it with fascinating allurements to gratify its innate tendencies; and intemperance follows as naturally as a harvest from the sowing of seed.

II. *Heredity, Environment, and Pauperism.*—It has been said that paupers are not simply the poor, but the willfully poor. That word "willful" indicates that the fault is all with the individual, and not at all with ancestors and society. Pauperism is more a disease than a crime. Laziness is easily denounced; it is difficult to understand. It results from lack of vitality. Where there is abundant vitality the individual either ceases to be a drone or becomes a criminal. Hence Mr. Dugdale says: "Crime as compared to pauperism indicates vigor." But what does lack of vitality signify? Plainly, defective parentage. As men are born with physical deformity, so are they born with mental and moral and volitional deformity. A child of intemperance comes into the world diseased. Licentiousness has debilitated the parents; the children are the weaker. Intemperance and licentiousness go together. From such wedlock paupers are born. Mr. Dugdale says again: "Hereditary pauperism seems to be more fixed than hereditary crime, for very much of crime is the misdirection of faculty, and is amenable to discipline, while very much of pauperism is due to the absence of vital power, the lines of pauperism being in many cases identical with such lines of organic disease of mind or body as insanity, consumption, syphilis, which cause from generation to generation the successive extinction of capacity, till death supervenes." I have found nothing on this subject so concise and comprehensive as Mr. Dugdale's "*Tentative Inductions on Pauperism*," which I quote entire.¹

"1. Pauperism is an indication of weakness of some kind, either youth, disease, old age, injury; or, for women, childbirth.

"2. It is divisible into hereditary and induced pauperism.

"3. Hereditary pauperism rests upon disease in some form, tends to terminate in extinction, and may be called the sociological aspect of physical degeneration.

"4. The debility and diseases which enter most largely into its production are the result of sexual licentiousness.

"5. Pauperism in adult age, especially in the meridian of life, indicates a hereditary tendency which may or may not be modified by the environment.

¹ *The Jukes*, Dugdale, revised edition.

"6. Pauperism follows men more frequently than women, indicating a decided tendency to hereditary pauperism.

"7. The different degrees of adult pauperism, from out-door relief to almshouse charity, indicate in the main different gradations of waning vitality. In this light the whole question is opened up, whether indolence, which the dogmatic aphorism says 'is the root of all evil,' is not, after all, a mark of undervitalization, and an effect which acts only as a secondary cause.

"8. Induced pauperism results from bad administration of the law, or temporary weakness, or disability in the recipient.

"9. The pauperism of childhood is an accident of life rather than a hereditary characteristic.

"10. The youngest child has a tendency to become the pauper of the family.

"11. Youngest children are more likely than the older ones to become the inmates of the poor-house through the misconduct, or misfortune, of parents.

"12. Such younger children who remain inmates of the almshouse long enough to form associations that live in the memory and habits that continue in the conduct have a greater tendency to spontaneously revert to that condition whenever any emergency of life overtakes them, and domesticate there more readily than older children whose greater strength has kept them out during youth.

"13. Induced pauperism may lead to the establishment of the hereditary form."

Mr. Dugdale's studies confirm my own more imperfect investigations. Pauperism is primarily caused by lack of vitality. It is transmitted weakness. It carries with it tendencies to habits and vices which almost invariably manifest themselves. Weakness transmitted will be increased by lack of will. The pauper is the natural prey of licentiousness, and licentiousness is, even in those who are born strong, a prolific cause of intemperance.

Debilitated physical conditions make exertion distasteful, and sometimes impossible. The vitiated moral condition makes the man impervious to moral motives. Let me quote a passage from "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London." "Every room in these rotten and reeking tenement houses, a family, often two. In one cellar a sanitary inspector reports finding a father, mother, three children, and four pigs! . . . Here are seven people living in one underground kitchen, and a little dead child lying in the same room. Elsewhere is a poor widow, her three children, and a child

who had been dead thirteen days. Her husband, who was a cabman, had shortly before committed suicide. . . . In another room nine brothers and sisters, from twenty-nine years of age downwards, live, eat, and sleep together. Here is a mother who turns her children into the street in the early evening because she lets her room for immoral purposes until long after midnight, when the poor little wretches creep back again, if they have not found some miserable shelter elsewhere." What must be the legacy from such parentage? What must be the effect where such is the sole environment of a lifetime? How worse than useless to expect to uplift such people by a few soup-houses; by a few visitors, generally women; by now and then a mission chapel! What are these among so many? Ten years ago the almshouses of New York were carefully inspected, and nearly 10,000 of their inmates personally interviewed. Few were found who had ever owned any property. 32 per cent. were wholly illiterate, and only 30 per cent. had received a fair common-school education. 85 per cent. of the men had been intemperate, and 42 per cent. among the women. 55 per cent. had intemperate fathers, and over 82 per cent. intemperate mothers.¹ Overcrowding, intemperance, and the social evil act and react on the pauper and produce a progeny of weakness, vice, and crime. The districts most overcrowded contain the greatest number and the vilest of dramshops, and the most unblushing licentiousness. No city suffers more deeply from overcrowding than New York. The tenth ward has a density of 243,000 to the square mile. A space of less than 30 acres in the fourth ward shelters 17,611 persons, nearly 600 to a plot 200 feet square. 16 families in a single 25-foot dwelling are common. 100 souls in a single tenement of that size is nothing unusual, and in some cases this number is doubled. It is said that there are 94,000 families in Berlin who live with a single room to a family, and that 25,000 of these families burrow in cellar apartments. In such conditions homes are impossible. Vice and pauperism naturally spring from such soil. When it is remembered that those who live in such circumstances are not strong, either physically, mentally, or morally, the certainty of the infernal harvest is evident. Pauperism is inevitable. Dr. Behrends, in "*Socialism and Christianity*," says² that the primary and purely *personal* causes of pauperism are "idleness and improvidence." Later in the same lecture he says: "Illiteracy, intemperance, overcrowding, and the looseness of the marriage tie, — these are the

¹ Dr. Charles Hoyt, *Pauperism*.² Pp. 192, 195.

four social causes of pauperism." The latter statement is undoubtedly true, but the former is not true. Defective parentage caused by disease, by sexual excesses, by exhaustion of vitality from overwork, by a vicious environment, is "the primary and personal cause of pauperism." "Idleness and improvidence" inevitably, and almost necessarily, follow, and tend to reproduce themselves according to the same law by which they exist.

III. *Heredity, Environment, and Crime.* — The hereditary nature of crime is unquestionable. By this is not meant simply that criminals are children of criminals, but also that they inherit such traits of physical and psychical constitution as naturally lead to crime. Ribot says: "The heredity of the tendency to thieving is so generally admitted that it would be superfluous to bring together facts which abound in every record of judicial proceedings." He cites as an illustration the genealogy of the Chrétien family from Dr. Despine's "Psychologie Naturelle."

"The father had three sons, Pierre, Thomas, and Jean-Baptiste. 1. Pierre had a son, Jean-François, who was condemned for life to hard labor for robbery and murder. 2. Thomas had two sons: (1) François, condemned to hard labor for murder, and (2) Martin, condemned to death for murder. Martin's son died in Cayenne, whither he had been transported for robbery. 3. Jean-Baptiste had a son, Jean-François, whose wife was Marie Tauré (belonging to a family of incendiaries). This Jean-François had seven children: (1) Jean-François, found guilty of several robberies; died in prison; (2) Benoist, fell off a roof which he had scaled, and was killed; (3) Christian, nicknamed Clain, found guilty of several robberies, died at the age of twenty-five; (4) Marie-Reine, died in prison, where she had been sent for theft; (5) Marie-Rose, same fate, same deeds; (6) Victor, now in jail for theft; (7) Victorine, married one Lemaire; their son was condemned to death for murder and robbery." Ribot adds: "We have given this instance because it cuts short all explanations drawn from the influence of education and example. Doubtless it is difficult in many cases to determine what is due to education and what to nature; and the children of thieves are not very likely to be trained to honesty by their parents; but still nature is always the stronger agency."¹

The studies of Mr. Dugdale among State-prison convicts in New York State reveal some startling facts. They illustrate the part played, both by heredity and environment, in the production of

¹ Ribot, *Heredity*, p. 91.

criminals. 233 cases were examined, and the examinations so far verified as to be considered reliable. Of this number, 23.03 per cent. were of neurotic stock. By neurotic stock is meant "those who are descended from, related to by blood, or are themselves either idiotic, insane, epileptic, paralytic, or otherwise nervously disordered." 40.77 per cent. were orphans; 46.78 per cent. had had neglected childhood; 75.63 were habitual criminals; 22.74 per cent. were House of Refuge boys; 17.16 per cent. were of criminal families; 22.31 per cent. were of pauper stock; 42.49 per cent. were of intemperate family; 39.05 per cent. were habitual drunkards; and 79.41 per cent. were without trade. Of the 233 examined, the figures show that nearly one in every four was born of nervously disordered parentage. Mr. Dugdale says: "This close relationship between nervous disorders and crime runs parallel with the experience of England, where 'the ratio of insane to sane criminals is thirty-four times as great as the ratio of lunatics to the whole population of England; or, if we take half the population to represent the adults, which supply the convict prisons, we shall have the criminal lunatics in excess in the high proportion of seventeen to one.'" "It has been said that 'whatever is physiologically right is morally right,' and in these tables we have a confirmation of that saying by its converse, that whatever is physiologically unsound is morally rotten; for we find that murder, rape, and arson, crimes which arouse our abhorrence and indignation the most, for which the law awards the most severe penalties, and which all men in all nations are agreed to look upon as unpardonable, are perpetrated by a class of men whose probable capacity for self-government is $2\frac{1}{2}$ times less than that of criminals who prey upon property, and whose probable mental unsoundness is 34 times greater than that of the average community."¹ About 43 per cent. of the criminals examined were of intemperate family, and 51 per cent. of the House of Refuge boys. We find that 79.41 per cent. never learned a trade, and presumptively were in the condition of those for whom Satan finds mischief. Failure to learn a trade is chargeable usually to parentage, and so the evil resulting from intermittent industry must be in part at least the fault of ancestry. A terrible fact is the large number of House of Refuge boys who are found in prison. Nearly 23 per cent. of all the convicts examined had been in Houses of Refuge, and of that number 98 per cent. were habitual criminals. These figures show that the environment of Houses of Refuge at

¹ *The Jukes*, revised edition, p. 87.

least does not lead to reform. Concerning diseases among criminals, Dr. Bruce Thomson says: "In all my experience I have never seen such an accumulation of morbid appearances as I witness in the post-mortem examinations of those who die here. Scarcely one of them can be said to die of one disease, for almost every organ of the body is more or less diseased; and the wonder to me is that life could have been supported in such a diseased frame. Their moral nature seems equally diseased with their physical frame; and whilst their mode of life in prison reanimates their physical health, I doubt whether their minds are equally benefited, if improved at all. On a close acquaintance with criminals, of eighteen years' standing, I consider that nine in ten are of inferior intellect, but that all are excessively cunning." But no figures are needed to prove that a criminal ancestry and an environment of vice, violence, and criminal opportunity, will surely lead to crime. To expect otherwise would be to look for the reversal of the law that what is sown will be reaped. If for two hundred years the Bach family produced eminent musicians, there is more reason to expect that the Juke family will produce thieves and harlots until a new stock is created or the family becomes extinct. Ancestry determines tendency. Actuality is usually a product of heritage and surrounding. When both are criminal, according to the doctrine of chances it is not difficult to determine what are the probabilities that the offspring will be criminal.

Before any wise reform can be advanced looking toward the removal of intemperance, pauperism, or crime, there must be a careful study of the causes of these evils. Diagnosis in social disease, as in physical, should precede resort to remedies. Until recently, there has been almost total neglect of what has been abundantly shown to be important factors in the problem of reform. A recent number of "Lend a Hand" contains the following: "Dr. Holmes has said, 'The patient may almost always be saved, if the doctor is called in time, but he should be called two or three hundred years before the patient is born.' It is not quite convenient for the new charity of to-day to root out the seeds of the pauper disease found in the seventeenth and the sixteenth centuries; but it does the next best thing; it seeks to cure the pauperism of the twentieth and succeeding centuries by shutting up the pauper-factories of to-day." The history of the dealing with all the classes mentioned in this paper, by society, is mournful reading. Even well-meant attempts at philanthropy have been so

poorly administered that they have increased rather than diminished the evils at which they were directed. Temperance-workers have wasted their energies on laws impossible to execute in large cities, and have left the intemperate in unimproved conditions of temptation and tendency. The only attempt which they have made at a careful study of the relation of heredity to inebriety, of which I have heard, is the Bureau of Heredity of the W. C. T. U., and this is of recent date. In this country temperance agitators have almost ignored the duty of giving some benefit to those from whom an evil has been taken. Inquiries concerning how the masses live; concerning sanitary conditions, and their relation to the virtue and vice of the people; concerning the causes of pauperism and crime, have seldom been started by professional reformers. Lawmakers have gone on year after year making laws concerning tramps, and tramps have multiplied in spite of the laws; while those who were elected because they were the tools of criminal-makers have devoted their hours of idleness to ignoring the questions which were to be decided by their votes. Laws have not touched the heart of the problems which are pressing upon us. Social theorists have done little more. Henry George would bring the millennium by putting all taxes on land, but he forgets human nature. Labor-reformers would bring a better day by a revolution in the social order, but they overlook human nature. Until heredity is changed, physical and moral deterioration will move side by side in ever expanding streams. The subject is too great for more than a few suggestions concerning it on the practical side.

I. While heredity is the strongest force known in the development of humanity, it is always susceptible of modification by environment, except in cases of organic defect, as in idiocy and lunacy. A vicious tendency which finds no congenial sphere for growth will still be transmitted, but with its force broken. If the beneficent environment continues it will not be long before the evil heritage will be practically eliminated. Evil environment produces and perpetuates bad heredity; while good environment tends to its eradication. No man is all bad. The environment brings out and develops the tendencies in each to which it is magnetic.

II. No reform in the long run can prevail which does not look toward the creation of sober and pure and law-abiding stock. If a temperance revival results in all the inmates of a tenement house, of adult years, signing a pledge and keeping it, that is no sure ground for supposing that the children born during the years

of their parents' inebriety will continue temperate. If, on the other hand, the region where those people lived is changed; if they are accustomed to virtue and decency, and have before them lofty examples of manhood and womanhood, and are enabled to live so that home is not a farce, it will make comparatively little difference whether or not the pledge is taken. Organisms are like their environment. Men are like their surroundings. They mould the individual, and modify the tendencies which he inherits. If reform, in any of the departments considered in this paper, is permanent, it will be as a result of such influences on society as have made a new and better environment, and consequently a better stock.

III. The practical question then arises as to how these results may be realized. They can never be realized by any treatment of the vicious and criminal and pauper classes which fails to recognize and to hold them to a recognition of freedom and responsibility. Freedom is as evidently a fact as heredity. The study of heredity makes faith in freedom difficult. All that is added to the one is subtracted from the other. And yet, until men are born again, if they think they are not accountable, they will follow their selfish inclination; and if society says that they are driven by forces of which they have no control, they will, by and by, turn those forces on society to its ruin. There is no hope for the man who has no faith in his possibility and responsibility. If the consciousness of freedom is removed the gates are opened to chaos. All forms of philosophical thought which teach that man is but an eddy in the never-ending stream of matter, or which allow that even heredity can fetter the will, without destroying personality, so far as they prevail, cut away the foundations of improvement. Environment may be bettered, but environment minus consciousness of responsibility will not long have influence over a man of depraved heredity. It is, precisely, because it is presumed that there is something in all men, however degraded, which can respond to better things, that better things are provided. A hog in a palace would be a hog to its death. The splendor would make no impression on such a nature. But a London "Bridge-boy" in the same place would be transformed. There is something in him to which an appeal can be made. Neither heredity nor environment destroys responsibility. If drunkards were treated as criminals, as well as unfortunates, if, for example, the whipping-post were revived for their especial benefit, there would be a surprising manifestation of power to resist temptation.

But inebriates and paupers and criminals are unfortunates; they are, in large proportion, diseased; they should be treated pathologically as well as judicially. This work must begin by a study of causes. The intemperance which results from misery will be cured only by a removal of the misery, or the cultivation of a spirit strong enough to endure it. If alcohol is prohibited, something else will be found to take its place; and if other resources fail, suicide will remain. Intemperance caused by domestic infelicity will be diminished not so much by "Maine laws" and "moral suasion," as by such education and restraint as shall make ill-assorted marriages less frequent. Pauperism is largely the natural result of intemperance and licentiousness. Laws against tramps may change the form of the evil, — perhaps to a more dangerous form, — but until children are made to realize that the body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, the scourge of pauperism will continue.

While Houses of Refuge and prisons are schools of crime, it is vain to expect any large improvement in police reports. The fault in the past has been too much reform in the abstract. Specific remedies for specific diseases should be the rule for the treatment of existing evils. Reformatory effort should be directed, as it has not been in the past, toward the production of pure and inspiring environment, to the end that coming generations, if not our own, may reap the benefit in manlier men and more womanly women.

Reform along the lines indicated in this paper has already commenced. The model dwelling-houses of Octavia Hill, and those under the direction of Rev. S. C. Barnett of St. Jude's, White-chapel, in London, and Gotham Court, in New York, are hints of what is possible in improving one part of the environment of the lowest classes. The Children's Aid Society, with its seventy-seven thousand children transported from certain city wickedness to better possibilities in the country, is a success which will some day be still better appreciated than now. Temperance workers are beginning to realize that the best way to get rid of the tendency to inebriety is to crowd it out with something good. The most hopeful movement in the temperance world to-day, among the lower classes, is the English coffee-houses. Dr. Dale, of Birmingham, told me that the chief of police informed him that crime had diminished one half in that city since the coffee-houses and boys' schools were opened. Standing within a short distance of the Seven Dials, in London, I asked a policeman whether crime had increased or decreased in his precinct in recent years. "In

ten years it has decreased fully one half," was the reply. "What has wrought the change?" "The coffee-houses and the boys' clubs." In other words, even in the slums of "the toy-shop of Europe," and in the very heart of London's wretchedness, a few wise, strong, patient, liberal men and women have worked this change in the criminal records by opening a few coffee-houses and schools and improved dwellings. Efforts in these directions should be multiplied. Movements like the University Colony in East London and the University Extension System of Lectures should be started in our cities, and the scholarship and refinement of Harvard and Yale and Princeton brought into helpful sympathy with the Bowery and Water Street. Toynbee Hall, in Whitechapel, furnishes an admirable example for the study of social theorists. All wise reform must commence with recognizing the fact of heredity, and that by that law human ills are multiplied, and by it they may be diminished. It will do little good to work for individuals here and there. Such conditions must be created as shall make a new heredity possible. That cannot be accomplished without improving the environment of those to be reached. If men live in good houses, drink pure water, are accustomed to frequent sight and contact with those who are worthy of honor, have given to them the inspirations which are essential to the best development, the result will be manifested in the next generation. The generation following the French Revolution was distinguished by such an epidemic of nervous diseases as had never been known in French history. It was the result of the terrific strain upon mind and heart and nerve of those delirious years. Children may possess their parents' virtues; they are almost sure to inherit their vices; they almost never are better than the environment from which they came, and, if possible, they will probably be worse. It is evident, therefore, that no reform can wisely neglect to improve the circumstances in which the vicious live. The effect of heredity and environment on character and conduct should be carefully studied by those who aspire to the work of philanthropists. It will be depressing at first; it will make humanity seem like clay in the hands of inexorable and remorseless forces; but it will save an immense waste of time and effort and means, and, by and by, the depression will change to hope, as it is seen that the same law that necessitates degenerations under certain conditions under others works regenerations; and the hope will change to inspiration when it is realized that even the means which are in the feeblest hands may make beneficent, and full of blessing, that which before had seemed only a curse.

The time has not yet come for a full consideration of the important subject to which this paper is devoted. One fact, however, is already established, and that is, that all attempts at reform are doomed to failure which do not give to the intemperate something better than liquor; to the pauper something which will stimulate, without exhausting, his feeble vitality; to the criminal some nobler object for his ambition and his energies than he is now seeking. In short, Reform must be along positive rather than negative lines.

I conclude by saying that such study as I have been able to give these subjects, more in men than in books, more in tenements than in libraries, both in this country and in Europe, has deepened the conviction that whatever the causes of human degeneration, efforts at permanent improvement will surely fail which do not carry with them the following as their foremost message and motive, — All men are the children of the living God, and destined to an endless existence.

Amory H. Bradford.

MONT CLAIR, NEW JERSEY.

POLITICS IN JAPAN.

THE student of affairs who begins to write about politics in Japan is suddenly checked and puzzled by the conviction that, in one sense of the word, there is as yet no such thing here as politics. With no general elections or representative assemblies, and with no state constitution; with a newspaper press entirely subject to imperial censorship; with a nominal senate, to which only fifteen out of forty-six ordinances recently promulgated have been submitted for approval; with a ministry responsible only to the Mikado, and liable to be removed, as was one ministry, by Korean complications, by the discovery of official corruption, or by any court intrigue; with all these evidences of autocracy, — there seems little room for the growth of politics.

But there are two great forces which surround and control the government, and foster the germs of a great social and political development. One of these is that of the nation itself, which accomplished the revolution and restoration of 1868, by which the Mikado was brought to a real sovereignty, which he must henceforth hold as the substantial representative of those who introduced the new era. The other force is that of the foreign

powers, through contact with which the sleeping nation was so rudely awakened. The prestige of Western civilization is simply immense. Its influence pervades everything, and helps to shape everything. These two forces insure the political development of the future.

Corresponding to this one finds the key which unlocks the understanding of movements in Japan to-day in two great desires or passions which animate all classes of the people. One is the desire to appropriate, for the growth and prosperity of the country, the whole of Western civilization, from its boots, hats, umbrellas, kerosene, and steam-engines, up to its education, its laws, its philosophy, its science, its morality, and its religion.

A farmer down on the coast, who had just visited Yokohama and other spots of interest in the country, was found by a friend of mine to have a picture of the English House of Commons in full session framed, and hung up in his front room. This was what he wanted for Japan. "Only," he said, "I know that there must be some American House of Commons, and as America is ahead of England in its free institutions, it is the American House of Commons that we want." The picture, it seems, had been engraved for Japan by order of Count Itagaki, the leader of the Radical party in opposition to government, in the belief that nothing would better show his countrymen what they need.

The other instinct dominant among the people is to give everything thus adopted from the West a Japanese cast, — to do all these new things in their own way, through their own agents, independent, so far as possible, of foreign interference or control. In the government arsenal at Tokio I learned that hundreds of Japanese workmen were paid an average of fifty sen a day for making a breech-loading rifle quite up to the requirements of modern warfare. I was told that it had won a prize at some European exposition. But it was the invention of a colonel in the Japanese army; and in the whole building I found no foreign employees, though much of the machinery was imported.

In the Tokio jail, with 2,200 inmates, where at present the old system prevails of herding the men together at night, by hundreds, on their mats, I was shown by the progressive superintendent, just appointed, plans for new buildings soon to be erected, with cells, each of which will contain but five men. At the Military Academy, too, the West Point of Japan, with over 800 students, I found Western methods everywhere employed, but by Japanese instructors and officers. The Tokio Normal School has its kinder-

garten, its light gymnastics, its musical training, its modern methods throughout, but only one or two foreign instructors. And the Imperial University is fast dispensing with most of its foreign teachers.

The result of this endeavor to so independently appropriate Western civilization is not always happy. Young Japanese students, who have passed some superficial examination, displace foreigners who are masters in their department, and, as a result, the musical training in the Normal School is wretched, the English instruction in the University is greatly complained of, many other departments suffer, and study too often becomes an unintelligent cram of undigested facts, while thought is largely the half understood acceptance of what is supposed to be the dominant phase of Western ideas. Yet there is nothing at all strange in this, when one considers how the vast developments of a civilizing growth of centuries are presented to this people to be absorbed in a generation or a decade. The thing to be marveled at is the success with which the Japanese stomach is digesting the whole body of civilization which, bitter-like, it has swallowed at a gulp.

This great desire of the country for independent development is especially shown in the endeavor to secure such a revision of its treaties with foreign powers as shall free it from the restrictions of the past. The work of revision has been dragging along for months. The committee have taken a vacation for the summer, but, while little is allowed to transpire concerning the nature of the changes being made, I am informed by Japanese who attend all the meetings, that the results, so far reached, are considered favorable to Japan. A revision which, to be valid, must gain the assent of every one of the foreign powers concerned is necessarily a difficult task.

But the claim of Japan to a rank among other nations of the world is too strong to be disregarded. She will not at present obtain autonomy in her tariff, but her demand for increased and protective duties will undoubtedly be granted. The whole country may not yet be thrown open to foreign residents, although, in return for concessions as to extra-territoriality, doubtless new ports will be opened, and on yet more favorable terms. Japan opposes the plan of mixed courts, but is ready, if her laws are once allowed to extend to foreigners, to herself appoint foreign judges, before whom cases involving foreigners may be tried according to Japanese law. It is fortunate that now, as in days past, the influence of America is constantly exerted in favor of the recognition of the claims of Japan.

To return to internal politics: the germs of future institutions are already planted. Provincial assemblies with certain financial powers, poorly defined as yet, and feebly held, are elected by voters qualified by paying a yearly tax of five dollars, those who pay a tax of ten dollars being eligible to office. School commissioners are also nominated by vote in the various districts. But these are only poor prophecies of what is to come. The words 1890 are on the lips of all. It is a time of anticipation by the people, and of preparation by the government.

The opposition, indeed, Count Itagaki at their head, claim that the ministry pursue only an opportunist policy; that it has retrograded, instead of advancing, during the last few years, and that it will disappoint the public in 1890. But an opportunist policy seems the only one suited to such a time as this, and I have good reason to know that those highest in the government are diligently studying the proper qualifications of suffrage, by property and education, and the best methods of districting the country for the new parliament.

Undoubtedly much has been planned in the past which cannot be accomplished at once. It has been a time of financial depression, and taxes have greatly increased. There are towns and provinces in which the schools provided for by law will not and cannot be secured. In some other respects the government has gone faster than the people could follow. It does well to wait until they catch up. Very possibly, when the year 1890 comes, certain provisional arrangements may be proposed, to be succeeded, after the lapse of some years, by the permanent institutions of the future. However all this may be, it seems quite clear that Counts Ito and Inonye, — Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, — whatever may be said about their character, share the intense desire of their countrymen to appropriate the whole of Western civilization, and to have Japan stand among other free, constitutional governments. Just at present, it is true, German ideas and methods are coming rather more into vogue than English or American, and the Radicals are fearing that the new Constitution will be framed on the German model. But that may be the normal way of development. The people, certainly, are not ready for a rush into free institutions.

The government, I believe, very clearly sees that the true path to an equal place among the nations lies not in the struggle for imperial prerogatives, but in the healthy development of the life and sway of the people.

A few figures from the Department of Communications will show the steady progress of the Japanese in one or two particulars. The use of the post-office is a great clue to the intelligence of a people. In 1881 the total number of postal messages in Japan, including letters, post-cards, papers, books, and samples, was 74 millions. In 1882 it was 90 millions. In 1885 it was 114 millions. Telegraph offices, which numbered 199 in July, 1884, had increased to 219 in July, 1886. Over 500 miles have been added to the length of telegraph lines in the last two years, making a present total of 5,773 miles of line, with 15,355 miles of wire.

Recently published statistics show that nearly one person in every five throughout the empire is a land owner, with an average amount of two acres, and an average land tax of 6.72 dollars (silver) on an assessed value of about 135 dollars per acre. It may be remembered that at the time of the restoration the government once for all settled the land question by levying a tax of two and a half per cent. on its assessed valuation all over the empire. It is estimated, however, that only one tenth of the country is now under cultivation. How much more can be cultivated is a question.

No view of political movements in Japan would be complete which disregarded the present attitude of the government toward Christianity. The hostile position of a few years ago has changed, and political reasons are largely the cause of this reaction. The leaders of public opinion in Japan have been led by the example and suggestions of Queen Victoria and Gladstone, Emperor William and Prince Bismarck, as well as by the life and teachings of missionaries whom they have come to know in person, to see that Christianity is an essential part of that Western civilization which they wish to absorb in its entirety.

Their own religions have clearly failed to develop the nation. The attempt at the revival of pure Shinto is a failure, and Shintoism is characterized by intelligent men as "nonsense." The superstitions and idolatries of Buddhism have lost their hold on the thinking classes, and philosophic Buddhism is a mere speculation of no practical value. The only alternatives for Japan to-day are no religion or Christianity. To attain its coveted place of equality among Western nations, Japan must be freed from the reproach of being a heathen nation, and must become a Christian one. That, therefore, is the desire of the foremost men who gently censure our missionaries for not making converts more rapidly, and for not laboring more among the upper class, the opportunity for which, however, has been limited, until the present time.

The government, moreover, desires for its people a practical morality, which shall make them good citizens as well as good neighbors. It sees that morality must be based on religion, and that there is no morality comparable with that of Jesus Christ, and no other religion which has the powerful sanctions of Christianity. For all these reasons it would welcome the day when Japan should be called a Christian nation.

A recent occurrence in Tokio will illustrate the use which Japanese officials are ready to make of Christianity as an auxiliary in their attempt to make orderly citizens. At the Military Academy already mentioned, 150 *betto*s, or horse-boys, are employed in the stables of the cavalry department. They belong to the worst classes, are considered unreformable, and give great trouble to the officers of the school. In this emergency, the Japanese colonel at the head of the department bethought himself of the claims of Christianity. It professed power capable of regenerating the worst. Why not make use of this power for practical purposes?

A request was sent to a Christian Japanese pastor that he would open his church once a week to the *betto*s, and preach Christianity to them. After reflection, he replied that if they were sent in detachments of seventy-five, — all his church would hold, — he would undertake the task. So, for the last two or three months seventy-five of these desperate fellows have been marched to the chapel on Sunday evening, and seventy-five more on Wednesday evening. The preacher thinks he sees encouraging signs in his audience. But whether the results are large or small, it is significant as showing the aspect of the Japanese government towards Christianity. They seem to be studying it as a possible police agent of the greatest potency.

To my inquiry why he did not send his boys as well as his *betto*s to hear the preaching, the genial colonel replied that he had no authority to do that. If, however, it should be understood that the boys would make better officers by becoming Christians, I am quite sure they would receive a *permission* to attend which it would not be easy for them to decline.

The progressive jail superintendent, of whom I have spoken, declares the need of his prisoners of some religious influence, and hopes to secure a building where they can listen to preaching. But he cautiously declines to say what particular religion should be given them.

Heathenism, even in its decay, is closely interwoven with the life of the people, and it is only some great spontaneous national

movement which can displace it and introduce Christianity. The Mikado himself is logically the head of Shintoism, and the government recognizes the fact that the nation cannot be made Christian by ordinance. Besides all this, many prominent men who favor Christianity from political grounds discover that it requires of them, personally, certain sacrifices and changes of life and habit which they are not willing to make. They would have the people accept Christianity and electricity from the same motives. They more and more favor and patronize missionary work, and shrewdly avail themselves of missionary talent. But, personally, they are indifferent.

It is Protestant Christianity which is mainly favored by the leading men, and that as an offset against the Greek and Roman Churches, which they distrust. The history of the ambitions of Roman Catholicism in Japan causes it to be dreaded, while the position of the Czar of Russia as the head of the Greek Church produces aversion to that form of Christianity. The recent publication here of the book of government of the Greek Church was followed by the withdrawal of many Japanese converts, who discovered, for the first time, that in joining that Church they became, in a sense, subject to a foreign power.

Meantime the Protestants, with ever closer coöperation, are quietly evangelizing, educating, and organizing the people, so ready to receive them. Pervading influences, on every hand, are helping them in their work, so that their opportunity is greater than their strength to seize it. "Hands off," is what they virtually say to government. "Leave us alone in our labors with the people. That is all we want."

And at no very distant day the light of Christianity will dispel the darkness of Asia from this land. The Japanese church will first relegate foreigners to the position of teachers, translators, and advisers, then dispense with them altogether while it claims its prerogative of guiding its own people into the kingdom of heaven. As foreigners are now yielding other positions in public works and schools to the independent work of the Japanese, so, sooner or later, the missionaries will silently fold their tents and steal away to new fields of conquest. That day will not come for some years, for much remains to be done. But everything shows the movement of Japanese Christians towards the self-support, self-control, and self-propagation which belong to a truly independent church.

Edward A. Lawrence.

KORE, JAPAN, July, 1886.

THE CHEROKEE EXPERIMENT.

ONE case is worth two theories on the Indian question, and if a century of trials has not made it evident what we can do with the aborigines, it has shown conclusively that certain things cannot be done. Probably a better case could not be selected to illustrate our successes and failures with the Indian than the Cherokee, since the government and our benevolent societies have had this tribe on hand longer than any other, and with more liberal expense, and through and around them have tested so many legal questions and civil and social problems of Indian and white neighborhood. A few facts will present the Cherokee experiment.

The original and first claim on the soil in North America is an Indian right to occupation and use. In the sixteen treaties of the United States with the Cherokees this claim was conceded to them and respected by our government. The first five Presidents rested treaties with the Indians on this claim. In the fifteenth with the Cherokees, 1817, which stipulated for their going over the Mississippi, this was the eighth article: "To every head of an Indian family, residing on the lands ceded by the Cherokees in this treaty, shall be allowed a section of land, that is, 640 acres, provided he wishes to remain on the land thus ceded, and to become a citizen of the United States. He shall hold a life estate, with a right of dower to his widow, and shall leave the land in fee simple to his children."

The State of Georgia claimed, from Colonial rights, the lands west of her present limits to the Mississippi, that is, the present territory of Alabama and Mississippi. Large tracts in this western claim she sold, then repealed the law under which the sale was made, and declared the titles of sale void. The case went to the Supreme Court, which ruled that the State must indemnify the purchasers. The "Yazoo fraud," so called, is a long story. Suffice it to say, Georgia ceded to the United States all her right, title, and claim to what is now the territory of those two States, and the United States promised, in return, \$1,250,000, from the first net proceeds from the sale of these lands. This was not in payment for the land, or for any claim on it, but "as a consideration for the expenses incurred, by the said State, in relation to the said territory." It was also stipulated that "The United States shall, at their own expense, extinguish, for the use of Georgia, as

early as the same can be peaceably obtained, on reasonable terms, . . . the Indian title to all lands within the State of Georgia." Such, for substance to our purpose, was "the compact of 1802," so called.

It would seem that the Cherokees had possessed, in Colonial days, "more than half of the State of Tennessee, the southern part of Kentucky, the southwest corner of Virginia, a considerable portion of both the Carolinas, a small portion of Georgia, and the northern part of Alabama." Here were about 35,000,000 acres, more than seven times the area of Massachusetts. Between 1783 and 1820 they quitclaimed more than three fourths of this to the United States, and then declined to sell more. Of the balance, 5,000,000 acres were claimed by Georgia, as within her State limits, and in that claim and its outcome the "Cherokee Question" took on its troublesome features, mortifying and humiliating to the United States, disheartening and decivilizing to the Cherokees, and ominously, painfully prophetic to all our Indian tribes.

By the compact of 1802 the United States had promised to extinguish the Indian title in Georgia at as early a date as it could be done peaceably, yet if the natives preferred to remain there was nothing in any treaty or precedent of the government that could force their removal. They could remain from generation to generation. Moreover, in the treaty of Holston, eleven years before, was this article: "That the Cherokee Nation may be led to a greater degree of civilization, and to become herdsmen and cultivators, instead of remaining in a state of hunters, the United States will, from time to time, furnish, gratuitously, the said Nation with useful implements of husbandry; and further to assist the said Nation in so desirable a pursuit," etc.

It is quite evident that the government was sincere, and more or less active, in its earlier days, to civilize the Indians and retain them permanently on their old and reserved hunting-grounds. The Delaware treaty, in 1778, even contemplated an Indian State, with its representative in Congress, and the twelfth article of the Hopewell treaty, 1785, says: "They shall have a right to send a deputy of their own, whenever they think fit, to Congress." Therefore, the Cherokees were encouraged and aided by the government and by benevolent societies to develop agriculture, plant towns, establish a system of laws, found schools and churches; in brief, do just what is being done to-day for the Indians. With a full faith in the wishes and promises of the government, the

Cherokees made quite as much advance in these lines as could be expected.

They began to dispose of their lands in order to lessen the range of hunting-ground, and take on agricultural limits as well as pursuits. They welcomed secular and religious teachers, and agriculture, education, and religion carried them upward, so that in 1808 a teacher, appointed by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, reported: "The period has at last arrived on which I have long fixed my eager eye. The Cherokee Nation has, at length, determined to become men and citizens. A few days ago, in full council, they adopted a constitution, which embraces a simple principle of government. The legislative and judicial powers are vested in a general council, and lesser ones subordinate. All criminal accusations must be established by testimony." ¹

It was quite natural that a portion of the tribe should prefer to continue the free, lazy, and wild hunter-life of their ancestry and childhood. A delegation to Washington this year drew a dividing line. The Upper Towns asked for a permanent allotment of their proportion of the lands, that they might settle down in perpetuity in their old homes and new farms in Georgia, and follow a civilized life. The Lower Towns asked for an exchange of their proportion of land for new homes beyond the Mississippi, where they could indulge, without molestation, their hereditary passion for the wigwam and the chase.

It was easy for the government to send explorers, as it did, to select wild lands for the Lower Towns in the remote West, but the welcome evidence of a growing civilization, and a disinclination of two thirds of the tribe to leave Georgia, annoyed the citizens and perplexed the general government, as it was obligated to remove them as early as it could be done amicably. The theory of the government was to civilize and establish them where they were, while the Holston treaty and Georgia contemplated their ultimate removal. The perplexity of the government was the greater, since the civilizing agencies and influences that were lifting the Cherokees toward intelligent and thrifty citizenship were from abroad. The State of Georgia and the white neighborhood of these natives were not aiding and abetting in this work. While the Indian farms and growing villages were in the wilds of her interior or borders, that State was indifferent to what foreign benevolence was doing within her boundaries. So the colony of

¹ *History of the American Board*, p. 68.

Oglethorpe began to fall into line, with all the older ones, in the consent that Indian farming is a good theory, and an Indian farm a good thing — afar off. The nearer they came to being "persons of industry and capable of managing their property with discretion," as many were recognized and named in the Calhoun treaty of 1819, when one square mile was secured in fee-simple to each of those, the more unwelcome they were to the whites.

In this divided public sentiment and sympathy on the Indian question, the general government adopted a divided policy, which is quite natural where the people rule. They provided for those who would go, and for those who would stay, and progress was made only as fast as white settlements and speculative land interests advanced on the reservations. "The Cherokees did not show themselves unwilling to sell their lands so long as an adequate motive was presented to their minds. During every administration of our national government applications were made to them for the purpose of obtaining additional portions of their territory. These applications were urged, not only, nor principally, by the consideration of the money or presents, which they were to receive in exchange, but often and strongly by the consideration that they would become an agricultural people, like the whites; that it was for their interest to have their limits circumscribed, so that their young men could not have a great extent of country to hunt in; and that, when they became attached to the soil, and engaged in its cultivation, the United States would not ask them to sell any more land. Yielding to these arguments, and to the importunities of the whites, the Cherokees sold, at different times, between the close of the Revolutionary War and the year 1820, more than three quarters of their original inheritance."¹

Indian matters lingered and progressed, and white settlements in Georgia advanced, and land speculators and Indian men showed increased activity.

On the 8th of July, 1817, a most important treaty was arranged with the Cherokees, well illustrating those white pressures on Indian reservations that have gone grinding over them like Arctic ice-floes over capes and islands and Eskimo huts. It ceded large tracts of land to the United States, provided for a census of the Cherokees who preferred to go over the Mississippi, divided the annuities in ratio between those remaining and those going, granted land, acre for acre, beyond the Mississippi to those who

¹ *William Penn on the Indian Crisis*, 1829, p. 8, — an admirable pamphlet of twenty-four letters from *The National Intelligencer*.

might leave, paid for improvements on lands left by the emigrants, and ceded, secured, in fee-simple, 640 acres to every head of an Indian family who preferred to remain where he then resided within any large ceded tract, and to become a citizen of the United States, reaffirmed all previous treaties with the Cherokees, and provided flat-boat transportation and provisions to the emigrating party. This treaty is signed by Andrew Jackson and other commissioners, and by thirty-one chiefs and warriors of the party who were to remain, and by fifteen of those of the party who were to emigrate.

In 1819 one more treaty was made with the Cherokees. Its preamble states the fact that "the greater part of the Cherokee Nation have expressed an earnest desire to remain on this side of the Mississippi," and wish "to commence those measures which they deem necessary to the civilization and preservation of their Nation." The treaty is mostly a provision of ways and means for carrying out the preceding one, and also sets apart 100,000 acres of the ceded territory for school purposes on the uncaded, assigns one third of the annuities to the emigrating body, and forbids whites to enter on the ceded lands prior to January 1, 1820.

Meanwhile the emigrating ones took up their sad journey toward the setting sun, after the usage of all red men since white men settled on the Atlantic coast. Of course it may be said, in technical and strictly legal phrase, that they went freely, yet the emigration was originated and consummated by the most overbearing forces known to civil and social life. Extracts from missionary records will suggest the painful and humiliating facts.

"Nov. 4, 1818. The parents of Catherine Brown called on us. The old gray-headed man, with tears in his eyes, said he must go over the Mississippi. The white people would not suffer him to live here. They had stolen his cattle, horses, and hogs until he had very little left. He expected to return from the agency in about ten days, and should then want Catherine to go home and prepare to go with him to the Arkansas. . . . These people consider the offer of taking reserves, and becoming citizens of the United States, as of no service to them. They know they are not to be admitted to the rights of freemen, or the privilege of their oath, and say, no Cherokee, or white man with a Cherokee family, can possibly live among such white people as will first settle this country.

"Nov. 28. The great talk, for which the people began to assemble on the 20th of October, was closed yesterday. The

United States Commissioners proposed to the Cherokees an entire change of country, except such as chose to take reserves, and come under the government of the United States. This proposition they unanimously rejected, and continued to reject, as often as repeated, urging that the late treaty might be closed as soon as possible. Nothing was done."¹

One other treaty, and only one, was formed with the Cherokees of Georgia, and that one "that the late treaty might be closed as soon as possible." We have already outlined it, — the one of 1819. After this the citizens of Georgia, and politicians and speculators outside, at Washington and elsewhere, struggled, by various expedients, to reopen negotiations for the extinguishing of more Indian titles and the removal of more Indians, but in vain. They pressed Congress for appropriations, — a white man's bargain with red men is very expensive; the entire administration of Mr. Munroe was teased for this purpose; but chiefs and warriors, at home and at Washington, refused energetically. They declared in writing that the treasury of the United States had not money enough to buy another foot of Cherokee land. Georgia, impatient of the government delay and failure, and trying for several years to reopen treaty negotiations with the Indians for the rest of their lands within the State, and obtaining only the stern refusal to sell more, first upbraids the government for not making another treaty and procuring the rest of the Indian lands, and then takes the ground that the Indian tribes are in no such sense a nation as that a treaty can be formed with them, and that no treaty proper has been formed with them by the general government, or is necessary in order to remove them and take possession of their lands; that prior to the compact of 1802 Georgia, by her own right as a sovereign State, could have taken those lands either by negotiation or force, as she might elect, but consented to have the general government do it at government expense. This was in 1827.

In the following year this law was passed by the Legislature of Georgia, and approved: "That all laws, usages, and customs, made, established, and in force in the said territory, by the said Cherokee Indians, be, and the same are hereby, on and after the first day of June, 1830, declared null and void;

"That no Indian, or descendant of an Indian, residing within the Creek or Cherokee Nations of Indians, shall be deemed a competent witness, or a party to any suit, in any court created by the

¹ *History of the Am. Board*, p. 75

Constitution or laws of this State, to which a white man may be a party."

This law did two things. It disbanded and dissolved the Cherokee Nation as a civil organization. Its elections, legislature, courts, and all other civil proceeding of government were made null and void. It put the Cherokee tribe under another government as totally as if they had been kidnapped; and it so outlawed them as to deny them a standing in the courts of Georgia, except as criminals. From time immemorial, under both king and president, they had been subject to no jurisdiction but their own. This iron foot of Georgia crushed barbarously through all their machinery of government, and annihilated their property, by first destroying the laws under which they had acquired it, and then thrusting them under a government that ignored them and alienated it. The avowed purpose was to expel them from lands that were their own before Columbus saw America.

The issue is now complete, and the three parties have made it triangular. The general government has promised to extinguish the title to all Indian lands in Georgia, and for the use of that State, "as early as the same can be peaceably obtained, on reasonable terms." The title to about three fourths had been so extinguished, and about 6,000,000 of acres remained in Indian title. This was secured to the Cherokees, till they should be willing to quitclaim it, under an older treaty, in which the government say they "will continue the guarantee of the remainder of their country forever." The Cherokees, as the second party, after a month's discussion, and in much warmth, have vigorously determined to sell no more land. Then Georgia, seeing the failure of the government, and the refusal of the Indians, and, after trying seven years to overcome the inability of the one and the unwillingness of the other, formally declares, in her Legislature, that "it is unquestionably true, that, under such circumstance, force becomes right." Then, in her own sovereignty, she declares the Indian title null and void, breaks up their government, tramples on their young civilization, treats them as tenants at will, and orders them out of the country.

As we have now to do with facts and not feelings we glide along to results. This was a good time for our nation to make a move upward to that highest grade of national honor which develops in a sacred regard for treaty obligations, into the assuming of which Hamilton, in the seventy-fifth number of the "Federalist," says there enters "a nice and uniform sensibility to national

honor." From first to last the United States had said to all her Indian wards what she said in the treaty of Holston, 1791: "The United States solemnly guarantee to the Cherokee Nation all their lands, not hereby ceded." The government was solemnly pledged to stand between them and fraud and violence. If treaty and policy and promise and growth may not be sustained here, can the government make a stand anywhere for the Indians within or beyond the Rocky Mountains?

If the antipathies of race and color, and semi-civilization and greed of land, may break through here, can American civilization and the American administration of Christianity set an irresistible barrier anywhere else between the Mississippi and the Pacific? If the Indian must here see all equity and treaty and pledge and promising civilization blotted out, can he ever, in the future, trust in the government, or hope for a permanent home, or labor heartily to obtain a white man's civilization? All these questions stood around the Speaker's table in the Georgia Legislature on that ominous December 20, 1828.

But national honor, treaties, government, and benevolent plans for elevating the aborigines, the reservation theory, a germinant and promising civilization, the flattering and invigorating anticipations of the red man, — all were swept away by that December vote, and the winter of their discontent set in on the Indians.

They appealed to the Secretary of War that they be protected in the possession of their land and government, according to national guarantee, now forty years old, and reaffirmed in six separate treaties. The reply is made through the Secretary, and under direction of the President, "that no remedy can be perceived, except that which frequently heretofore has been submitted to your consideration, — a removal beyond the Mississippi, where alone can be assured to you protection and peace." . . . They must "yield to the operation of those laws which Georgia claims, and has a right to extend throughout her own limits, or to remove beyond the Mississippi, . . . carrying along with you that protection which, there situated, it will be in the power of the government to extend." ¹

In order to dispossess and remove the Indians, the plan was matured by Georgia to seize all their lands, divide them into parcels of 140 acres each, and dispose of them by lottery. The scheme appealed well to the speculator and demagogue and border white man. Naturally the missionaries would be in the way in executing this

¹ *Records of the Department of War*, April 18, 1829.

programme, and a law was passed for the purpose of expelling them, and under it they were cast into the penitentiary, and the missions broken up. With great indignities and severity and cruelty these men of God were chained to each other by the ankle in pairs, or, with chain and padlock on the neck, were made fast to a horse or cart, and so compelled, on foot, to traverse rough and wild ways, some of them even fifty miles. They appealed to the President for relief, but he declined to interfere, on the ground that Georgia was sovereign for all such matters within her own boundaries. The case went to the Supreme Court, when Chief Justice Marshall declared the act of Georgia, in extending her jurisdiction over the Cherokee lands, repugnant to the Constitution, treaties, and laws of the United States, and therefore null and void, and ordered the discharge of the missionaries. The Georgia court refused the mandate, and so set the United States Supreme Court at defiance. Afterward the Legislature repealed the unconstitutional law. After much aggravating delay, and the cultivation of "nullification," the missionaries were discharged, yet with great lack of dignity and manliness on the part of the authorities. This was in 1833. Three years before Webster had made his remarkable speech against nullification, but Georgia was still affected somewhat with that political heresy.

Prior to this, and meanwhile, the work went on of despoiling the poor Cherokees. The lottery was drawn in the autumn of 1832, amid the revels of whiskey and debauchery, in which many good Cherokees stumbled, being abandoned of the general government and disheartened. The removal was mainly in 1838, and the number about 16,000. They persistently refused to go unless forced, yet said they would not resist. Some thousands of United States troops went into their country, under General Scott, and began the work by making prisoners of single families, and thus gathering them into groups. Fourteen camp divisions were made, and finally the sad march began. Ten months from the time they began to be gathered this sad exodus commenced. The distance was about 700 miles, and the time was four to five months. Credit is given for good management and kindness in the sorrowful work, yet in the removal about 4,000 sunk under the trials, — about one in four of the whole number died. "Their sufferings were greatly aggravated by the conduct of lawless Georgians, who rushed ravenously into the country, seized the property of Cherokees, as soon as they were arrested, appropriated it to their own use, or sold it for a trifle to each other before the eyes of its owners ;

thus reducing even the rich to absolute indigence, and depriving families of comforts which they were about to need in their long and melancholy march." ¹

We follow these wanderers and exiles from the white settlements with an intense sympathy and suspense. They have gone over the Mississippi, not merely under the pressure of Georgia or of one President or Secretary of War. Taking the most apologetic or sectional view of the case that can be taken, the removal, excepting certain atrocities in it, was a national removal, and under the chronic pressure of two centuries Congress indorsed it as the voice of the people, and in the line of an old adopted policy. Sharper points in that policy were then developed, but they were sustained. The opposition to them came from the older States, from which the Indians had been mostly removed, but the newer States, through which there were yet scattered remnants of tribes, and our border life and the wilder elements of the frontier prevailed. In long struggles over Indian issues these have always carried a majority. Neither Georgia, therefore, nor that Congress or administration is to be reproached preëminently. They were only an index, for the time, of a national spirit, that two thirds of the country have somehow always made predominant.

But let us follow up the new experiment, inaugurated by the completion of the Cherokee removal in 1838. A reservation was assigned to them that now appears to be 7,861 square miles, — nearly as large as Massachusetts. Schools and Indian agents, churches and ploughs, and human sympathies, followed them; also, white emigration, and speculators in wild lands, race prejudices and whiskey and semi-civilization. Into that total Indian Territory of 62,253 square miles, — nearly as large as eight States like Massachusetts, — and around the Cherokees, the government has located about forty tribes. Around this Territory we have also located — and since it was set apart for the Indians — the States of Missouri, Arkansas, Texas, and Kansas, — young members in the American family, and full of the blood of youth and growth, and, of course, ambitious for good neighborhood. In the strong tide of emigration that has set toward the southwest, and specially since the war, this Indian Territory has lifted itself up in the current midway, and made it divide right and left.

This is a condition exposed to any damaging influences that may go with our first waves of population, and if its people and

¹ *History of the American Board*, p. 372.

natural resources decline assimilation and absorption in national interests, social and civil and commercial chafings must inevitably occur. It is quite likely to be the old Georgia case repeated, unless Indian and white natures are much changed. What are the facts?

The Cherokee "Nation," as the Cherokees greatly prefer to be called, has a government of its own, constituted by the elective franchise, and consisting of the legislative, judicial, and executive branches, and it has exclusive jurisdiction where all the parties are citizens of the Nation. Mixed cases of red and white go to a white arbitrator, the agent of the general government for the Indian Territory, or to the United States Supreme Court, at Fort Smith, Arkansas. With 6,000 whites living among the Indians, citizens of the United States, but not of the Territory where they live, it is not strange that the arbitrator is overborne with cases.¹ "The letters received from within the limits of the Agency asking for information, decision, instruction, or advice, average from ten to fifteen daily."²

The disorder from intruding whites and from intermeddling ones over the border is a source of regret and complaint in almost every Report. "The country continues to afford an asylum for refugees from justice from the States, and to invite the immigration of the very worst class of men that infest an Indian border."³

"Lawlessness and violence still continue in the Indian Territory. The two or three United States marshals, sent to enforce the intercourse laws by protecting Indians from white thieves and buffalo hunters, have been entirely inadequate," etc.⁴

"They are willing that the wild Indians from the plains shall be settled on their unoccupied lands, but they most emphatically object to the settlement of the wild white man from the States among them." "The intruders, as a class, are unfit to be in the Indian country, and some measures should be adopted that will rid these people of their presence." "It is estimated that nine tenths of the crimes committed in the Territory are caused by whiskey, and its many aliases. It is introduced from the adjoining States, where it can be purchased in any quantity." "The

¹ In the quotations immediately following reference is sometimes made to the whole Indian Territory, and sometimes only to the Cherokees. The text and context will readily locate the reference.

² *Report of Commissioners of Indian Affairs*, 1880, p. 94.

³ *Report for 1875*, p. 13.

⁴ *Report for 1874*, p. 11.

band of desperadoes, whites and Indians, who made their headquarters in the western part of this agency, and beyond, and who were the terror of the whole country last year, have all been killed off, or placed in the penitentiary."¹

"Such administration of the law in this country as is possible, through the United States district courts of Arkansas, scarcely deserves the name. Practically, therefore, we have a country embracing 62,253 square miles, inhabited by more than 75,000 souls, including 50,000 civilized Indians, without the protection of law, and not infrequently the scene of violence and wrong."² "This large population becomes more and more helpless under the increasing lawlessness among themselves and the alarming intrusion of outlawed white men."

From the tenor of the Reports it would seem that the civilization of the Indians has not risen to even a second rank in national purpose. "They ought not to be left the prey to the worst influences which can be brought to them, in the life and example of the meanest white men. They deserve such guardianship and care, on the part of the United States, as will secure for them the powerful aid to elevation which comes from the presence of law."

What is said of low whites who enter the country to labor for the Choctaws and Chickasaws has like bearing on the tribe whose second experiment we are tracing. "These whites, once in the country, are seldom known to leave, and thus their numbers are rapidly increasing. The result will be a mixture of the lowest white blood with the Indian, thus propagating, instead of curing, the indolence and unthrift with which they are already cursed."³

No one, of course, can be surprised that the Cherokees are haunted and paralyzed with the fear of another removal. If they were in the way of the whites when in their old home, much more may they suppose they now are, and if old treaties, compacts, and promises, and even decisions of the Supreme Court, could not protect them in their homes and rights on the east of the Mississippi, why may they now expect it? The remark of the agent cannot be unexpected: "Their only fear is that the United States will forget her obligations, and in some way deprive them of their lands. They do not seem to care for the loss in money value, so much as they fear the trouble, and the utter annihilation of a great portion of their people, if the whites are permitted to homestead in all portions of their country, as is contemplated by so many of the measures before Congress."⁴

¹ *Report for 1880*, pp. 94, 95.

² *Report for 1874*, p. 71.

³ *Report, 1874*, pp. 11, 12.

⁴ *Report for 1880*, p. 94.

"They feel the pressure of the white man on every side, and, among the full-bloods especially, there is a growing apprehension that, before long, the barriers will give way, their country be overrun, and themselves dispossessed."¹ When in the Indian Territory in 1880, one of the Supreme Judges in the Cherokee Nation said to the author, when speaking of the dissolution of the nation and its absorption in the United States: "A few of us could stand it, but the mass of our 20,000 Cherokees would become vagabonds and criminals. Yet this will come, and we are discouraged and hopeless. We expect to become extinct." The speaker had the venerable look and bearing of a patriarch.

They may well have this apprehension, when the Indian Commissioner makes a point to show, and with much practical sense and force, that their separateness cannot long continue, and that "no Indian country can exist perpetually within the boundaries of this Republic without becoming, in all essential particulars, a part of the United States." Many of those fears would be abated if the Cherokees could feel assured, not only that their land titles to single farms would be made as safe in title as a white man's, but that such white men would become their neighbors as would make those titles worth keeping, and be themselves such men as Indians could endure. Cherokee experience had been the reverse of this.

A very liberal use of official statement has now been made, that a fair view of the present condition of the Cherokees might be had. As government and paid agents are reporting their own work, we may presume that the view given is as favorable as the facts will warrant. The state of the case is too painfully similar to the Georgia experiment to be satisfactory as a result or hopeful in its outlook. Surrounded by States, and pressed by the rising tide of immigration; infested and raided by miserable or unscrupulous whites; railroads clamorous for right of way, and our multitudinous white interests and energies standing on tip-toe to go in, pioneered by insatiable land-speculators, this second experiment with our leading tribe under the "reservation theory" seems to be nearly ended. What is obvious to us is almost experience to them, so fully is it in their fears and expectations.

The official reports of both civil and benevolent work performed by the government and by religious bodies in the Indian Territory make one more satisfied and hopeful than a visit and personal observations. Our longest and most expensive experiment

¹ *Report for 1875*, p. 13.

on the reservation theory, under the joint endeavors of statesmen and philanthropists, seems to have culminated in lifting the Indian to the saddle as a first-class stock-raiser. Together with this elevation he has obtained many of the best qualities of the citizen and Christian, while he is yet restrained by circumstances unfavorable to their development and practice. In 1880 we heard three eminent Indians address 2,000 of their people at their National Indian Fair at Muskogee. One was an ex-chief of the Cherokees, one was of the Supreme Bench of that Nation, and the other a graduate of a New England college, and an eminent lawyer for some time in one of the Western States. Their interests and prospects were freely and ably discussed on the stand. Farming was not a popular idea with the speakers or the audience, though the Cherokees then had about 90,000 acres in rough agriculture. They declined the ownership of land in severalty and private farms in fee-simple, in memory of their experience on the east of the Mississippi, where they were called, with some propriety, "a nation of farmers." They were not disposed to prepare more farms for a second lottery. Hence their agricultural show at the Fair was meagre in the extreme, and their mechanical show was more so. This was sixty years after the government of the United States had presented to them two ploughs, six hoes, and six axes, and had promised a loom, six spinning-wheels, and as many pairs of hand cards, and the American Board had commenced Christianizing work among them.

Of course they were blinded by their painful memories of hard endeavors, discouragements, and failures for the white man's civilization; they had no confidence in government indorsements and solemn treaties, where a white man's interests should overtake them. Yet there was evidently a despairing and growing acquiescence in the new policy offered, of land in severalty, citizenship, and the dissolution of the "Nation." These parties were so evenly balanced and so warm on the new policy as to make its discussion perilous. Good sense, indifference, and despair have since given it a quiet majority.

Evidently the Dawes Bill, the soul of which is the new policy, opens up to the brightest outlook into their ominous future. Others, however, must do their hoping in it, and its success or failure will depend very much on the Indian's white neighbor.

William Barrows.

READING, MASS.

EDITORIAL.

EUROPEAN COMPLICATIONS.

THE political barometer of Europe has not been so low since the dark and threatening days before the outbreak of the last French and German war. "The better informed the politician," says "The Spectator," "the more seriously does he expect a European war in the spring." "I believe that a declaration of war by Russia is among the absolute certainties of the immediate future," writes in the same journal Mr. Arnold-Forster. "The clouds are heavy with war," is the language of "The Guardian," "and the keenest observers are evidently fearing that the cloud may burst suddenly." The "Times" speaks in the same strain: "The diplomatic situation in Europe is shadowed with dark omens. It is doubtful whether the Powers which are on the side of peace and treaty rights will be able to set bounds to the ambition of Russia, and Germany appears to be paralyzed in the fulfillment of her natural function by the dread of a Franco-Russian alliance." Equally gloomy are the utterances of the "Levant Herald": "In face of the deadlock, Europe seems helpless. A cynic might say 'The war has come. It is not convenient that it should break out prematurely, but the questions that are to lead to war must be kept open.' Probably the fact is that these questions cannot be settled without war." "Without wishing at all to exaggerate," writes Dr. Pressensé, member of the Senate, in the "Revue Chrétienne," "it is certain that the peace of Europe is at least precarious."

The most important causes of this anxiety are these:—

1. *The arming of the Great Powers.*—Ostensibly these military preparations are still on a peace basis, and are the development of an established policy. But careful observers discern an extraordinary efficiency infused into the peace establishments. The commissariat is unusually well supplied. The guns are remarkably well provided with trained horses. Troops are massing at suggestive points. The natural growth of the army is forced, or vigorous attempts are made to accomplish this result. Beyond all, through years of careful preparation, a military efficiency has been reached which cannot be greatly exceeded because its burdens are becoming intolerable. There seems to be no alternative between disarmament and war, and disarmament requires war, for no party will disarm unless conquered.

A few specific facts will suffice to illustrate what has been said.

Immediately after the humiliating peace with Germany France began a thorough reorganization of its army. Successive enactments have extended the liability to service until now it is practically universal. The last exemptions swept away were those of teachers in public elementary schools and of pupils in clerical seminaries. A year ago "The Statesman's Year Book" was able to say, "The military forces of France are

in a state of nearly complete reorganization." Since then the work of recruiting and equipment has been vigorously pressed. Cabinets change, but General Boulanger retains his portfolio. The watchword of economy in expenditure defeats a ministry, but instead of reduction in expenses for the army there is an unusually large appropriation. The Minister of War is popular because he is looked upon as an exponent and leader of the "revenge." At last the French army considerably outnumbers the German, and the claim is made that it excels it in preparation for immediate mobilization.

The progress of Russia is scarcely less marked. In 1874, two years later than France, it began the work of thorough military reorganization. Previously to this date the army had been recruited from peasants and artisans. Since then all classes are subject to military duty. "In 1882," says the authority already quoted, "692,764 young men having reached their twenty-first year (1.8 per cent. of population) were liable to military service. Of these, 181,341 men were taken into the army." The total peace footing a year ago is given as about 770,000, and the war footing as 2,200,000. This is distinct from an available militia of a million. "A census of horses taken in 1883 in fifty-eight provinces of Eastern Russia gave a total of nearly fifteen millions as fit for service in case of necessity."

About five years ago a plan was adopted for an addition of ninety new ships to the Russian navy. Twenty years were assigned for its execution. By next summer, it is stated, twenty-seven of these vessels will have been completed. Rumors, and even definite reports, are afloat of "masses of cavalry" moving towards the southwestern frontier, of orders to concentrate at Kief 300,000 men, of an increase of troops in Bessarabia.

When the Reichstag assembled toward the close of last November it was quietly announced by a subordinate officer, as if to avert suspicion, that a bill would be presented, anticipating by a year the appointed and natural increase of the army and instituting a new military septennate. The reason given for this extraordinary measure was "the development of the armies of our neighbors," that is, France and Russia. Opposition arising to the bill General Von Schellendorf, Minister of War, Marshal Von Moltke, and finally Prince Bismarck, have successively appeared to urge and demand its passage, and rather than permit a modification in the length of the period during which the law shall operate, the emperor has dissolved the Diet and ordered a new election. The speeches of the highest military authorities of Germany, as will again be noticed, have greatly increased the apprehensions of war.

Still other indications are the recent Austrian adoption of an improved rifle at an estimated expense of more than seventeen millions of dollars; the gathering of Turkish forces in Macedonia and near Eastern Roumelia; the call to arms in Montenegro of all able-bodied men between seventeen and fifty; the significant hint given by the Italian Minister of

War that the "commissariat arrangements necessary for mobilization have been finally completed."

To some extent the perfectness of preparation for war in every quarter is an assurance of peace. But there is an urgency and kind of preparation that more naturally suggests another issue.

2. *Unsettled questions which may easily give occasion for war.* The Eastern Question causes a general and chronic disturbance. This is now specialized and acute in consequence of the dethronement of Prince Alexander of Bulgaria. About the middle of November last Count Eugene Zichy, an intimate friend of the King of Servia, and a Hungarian leader of note, disclosed a secret treaty, which he affirmed had been concluded, not long before the revolution at Philippopolis (September, 1885), between Prince Nicholas of Montenegro, on his return from Russia, and Prince Peter Karageorgevics, the Servian pretender. By the terms of this treaty the eldest son of Prince Nicholas was to become King of Servia; the throne of Bulgaria, which, it was significantly stated, is "about to become vacant," was to reward Prince Karageorgevics for his renunciation of all claims to that of Servia; and Montenegro was "to avail herself of the first opportunity of annexing Herzegovina and some parts of Albania." Whatever truth, or want of truth, there may be in this singular story, it reveals the suspicion with which, in influential quarters, the movements of Russia, and of parties supposed to act in her interests, are regarded. Ever since the infraction of the treaty of Berlin by the union of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia, Russia has been in a state of irritating restlessness. The Czar quarreled with Prince Alexander, for the revolution at Philippopolis, constrained the Powers to sign a protocol which approved of the prince's governorship of Eastern Roumelia for a period of five years instead of permanently, and, finally, if he did not instigate the plot for overthrowing his cousin's government and kidnapping his person, at least made his permanent reinstatement in office, which was the general wish of the Bulgarians, utterly impracticable. Without war Russia drove Prince Alexander from his throne, and from a people that still clings to him with affectionate loyalty. Since then she has plotted unceasingly to regain her previous ascendancy in Bulgaria, and is all the more bent on disturbance because hitherto she has been baffled. Under the government of the three Regents the people have shown a surprising patience, self-control, and firmness. The mission of General Kaulbars, insolently as it was conducted, provoked no outbreak. Though he has been recalled, Russia persists in her contention that the Sobranje is not lawfully elected, and that the government of the Regents is illegitimate. She presses also for the vacant throne a vassal of the Czar's, Prince Nicholas Dadiani of Mingrelia. The Bulgarians reject this nomination resolutely and unconditionally. The prince may be personally unexceptionable; he is said to be a cultivated man, of liberal tendencies. But his father surrendered his hereditary rights to Alexander II., and the son, as ruler of Bulgaria, could not divest himself

of the suspicion that he is a mere creature of Alexander III. Meanwhile Russia vetoes every other candidate who is proposed, so that there is constant uncertainty and apprehension. The immediate danger is, that Russia, irritated at the defeat of General Kaulbars's mission, and alarmed lest Bulgaria may slip entirely from under her control, may end the perplexity by a sudden invasion and a rapid conquest of the Balkan Peninsula.

The opportunity for this might come if the present strained relations between Germany and France were to end in a rupture. The realization that this may come ere long, more than any other cause, has produced the present anxiety. The issue is a simple one in principle. Is the forced transference of Alsace and Lorraine from France to Germany to be permanently accepted? If not, the question of war is merely one of opportunity, and the strength of the army becomes a gauge of its probability. At present, though the Germans hold the fortresses and the stronger positions, the Chambers are more liberal than the Diet, the French army is the larger, and its forty thousand officers, if for the most part comparatively young and inexperienced, are, perhaps for this reason, more likely to yield to a sudden enthusiasm for conflict.

There is danger also in the German coolness. If the Gallic fervor may prompt a rush into Germany, the Teuton's science may hurl his legions suddenly upon an unexpecting foe. No nation has so divested war of all accessories, so completely made it a matter of calculation, as the German of to-day. Peace-loving, unaggressive Germany expects her army, if need arises, to do its appointed work with the promptitude and directness of a ball shot from a cannon. Once let it become clear that France means war, and Germany will not be likely to await its declaration from Paris. Marshal Von Moltke's recent speech, as reported by telegraph, contains a sentence as weighty as terse. "All Europe is now stiff with armor, which even a rich country can scarcely continue to bear." He added: "In the nature of things, therefore, that must soon lead to a decision of some sort, and this was why the government asked for an increase of the army before the natural lapse of the septennate." In other words, if France is to keep on increasing her armament, Germany will do well to settle the question at once. Germany is not "a rich country," and it is better to fight while there is more than a chance to win than to be first impoverished in peace and then beaten in war. War, with Germany, is not a sentiment, but the end of argument. "The German government," says "The Spectator," "as regards war, is rigidly 'scientific,' that is, intellectually cruel."

3. A third cause of alarm is found in the utterances of political and military leaders.

In a manifesto to the Black Sea fleet the Czar intimated that he might be compelled "to the armed defense of the dignity of the empire," and Russian societies and municipalities were permitted to present to him addresses like that of the Mayor of Moscow, who affirmed "that strength

had been imparted to their belief that the Cross of Christ will shine upon St. Sophia." Precisely what General Boulanger said to the officers of the Eighteenth Army Corps is in dispute, but the public was led to believe that his congratulations centred upon their "having substituted, for defensive strategy, offensive strategy, which is more in keeping with our national character." This was generally understood to mean that France is ready for a war of aggression. More importance was attached to the declaration of the German Minister of War, General Bronsart Von Schellendorf. After denying that the government regarded war as imminent, he added, "Nevertheless, we can scarcely resist the belief that we are living in a period when there is no well-founded prospect of peace being preserved." "We have been advised," said Field-Marshal Von Moltke, "to come to terms with France. Yes; that would be a very sensible thing to do; it would be a blessing for both nations, and a pledge of the peace of Europe. But if that cannot be done, *à qui la faute?* As long as public opinion in Paris continues to clamor for the restitution of two essentially German provinces, and as long as we remain firmly resolved never to give them up, it will scarcely be possible to come to an understanding with France." The more recent utterances of Prince Bismarck are, doubtless, too fresh in the remembrance of our readers to make it important to quote them.

4. *The military spirit in France and Russia, and the broad fact that the peace of Europe now rests so largely on force.*

Mr. Arnold-Forster states impressively the Russian military motive to war:—

"The ordinary motives which influence mankind operate no less in Russia than in other parts of the world. Throughout the Continent, in England, and in America, the enormous majority of the population are striving for success in their several professions and callings; every man, with the doubtful exception of a few Trappist monks, is trying to 'get on.' A soap-boiler hopes to make more soap, a manufacturer to weave more stuff, a clergyman to get promotion, a doctor to get more practice. There are many industries and many occupations; but in every one of them the members are striving for success. In Russia there is practically one profession, and one only, — that of arms. Even to those not actually in the military service, promotion comes according to their *tschin*, or rank, in the great military hierarchy. From General Gourko down to the smallest railway official there is but one goal to aspire to, namely, military distinction, the Cross of St. George and what it confers. To this goal there is a royal road, and that is a successful war. It is the direct and positive interest of nine out of every ten Russians to force their country into such a war. This is a great fact, and it is an indisputable one."

In France, in consequence of its higher civilization, the army is far from being so exclusively the outlet of enterprise and ambition, yet such a military establishment as is now fostered is a menace to the peace of

Europe. Beyond the desire inevitably kindled in an immense number of spirits for deeds of heroism and military renown is the fact we have stated, that Europe is divided into camps, and that mutual fear, and not good-will, restrains from the shock of arms. Such a basis of peace is essentially untrustworthy and precarious. We need not argue such a point. We may confirm, however, the fact we have asserted by two or three striking testimonies which have fallen under our observation since we began to write. The last "Fortnightly Review" contains a paper, from an unusually well-informed writer, on "The Present Position of European Politics," — the first of a series. "He starts," says the "Times," "with the proposition which, perhaps, no thoughtful observer will gainsay, that the 'present position of the European world is one in which sheer force holds a larger place than it has held in modern times since the fall of Napoleon.'" The only other testimony we will quote is from the latest number received of the "Revue des Deux Mondes." After a cool critique and general disparagement of the alleged causes of alarm, the writer sums up in these words: "All that we can infer is, that the situation remains certainly difficult, because it is everywhere at the mercy of force, and this is the explanation of the vague fears which revive at intervals, and which run across Europe like a shiver."

To these reasons for the alarm which exists should, perhaps, be added the willful disposition of the Czar. Many of the current stories of his personal habits are, doubtless, gross exaggerations, if not sheer fabrications, yet he stands, in the degree of confidence reposed in his discretion, in unhappy contrast with the Emperor of Germany, — a man who reproduces, more than any military leader of modern times, the self-control and love of peace which distinguished Washington.

We have purposely dwelt on the occasions for fear. We have also endeavored so to present them that needed counter-considerations will be suggested. There are great forces working against a resort to war. The uncertainty of its issues is a powerful restraint. The fact that armament is so general may be promotive of peace. If it were not for the attitude towards each other of Germany and France the Russians might well prefer to trust their diplomacy and intrigues in the Balkans rather than their arms. A military occupation of Bulgaria might be counted on to unite Austria, Italy, and England in armed resistance, and even Germany could not afford to brook it. Probably if France and Germany had each other by the throats Russia would not be restrained by the fear of Austria, whatever allies she could command, from marching on Constantinople. But the knowledge of this fact may be a sufficient reason for both France and Germany to refrain from strife, for neither can desire that the Cossack should reign from the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn.

There is no little danger that, in the endeavor of Germany to maintain the peace of Europe, the interests of Bulgaria will be sacrificed. Never before has the conduct of her leaders and people merited so great

confidence and admiration. We are not ready to believe that they will be left a prey to Russian arms, but they are in peril of being subjected to Russian intrigue, and of being ruled by her emissaries and agents. In some way Russia should have access to the open seas without having to pass all her vessels under the guns of other nations. But it is not for the peace of the world and the progress of civilization that an absolute monarch, governing a still semi-barbaric empire, should now gain a sudden and immense accession of power.

THE CALL TO THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY.

WITHOUT doubt the perplexity in the minds of educated Christian young men respecting their life work is increasing rather than diminishing. The question of the bestowal of personal service rests more and more upon personal decisions, and less upon training, the influence of others, or upon any general circumstance of the life. The family, for example, is not the same determinative factor in the relation of young men to the ministry that it was fifty years ago. The disposition of much of the better family life of that time has been characteristically set forth by Mr. Beecher, in his reference to his own experience and that of his brothers. "Young men are sometimes brought up to the ministry, as I was. I never had any choice about it. My father had eight sons. Only two of them ever tried to get away from preaching, and they did not succeed. The other six went right into the ministry just as naturally as they went into manhood." Some families of ministers and missionaries preserve their traditions, maintaining the professional no less than the Christian incentives toward the ministry. And in some communities the general influence of the family life is toward the same end as representing the highest and the most available form of consecration. But for the most part the condition is radically changed. And not a little of the change is due to the transfer of so much of the life of the church from the country to the city. Consecration has taken the range of opportunity. The young man of Christian parentage in the city finds himself naturally before alternatives of consecrated service which do not stimulate or embarrass the young man of like religious circumstance in the country.

And what has become manifestly true of the family, in the decline of its tribute to the ministry, is becoming true of the school. For a time the school of Christian traditions or of more immediate Christian intention furnished as its natural product the supply for the ranks of the ministry. Certain schools are still the chief sources of supply. But here, too, a change is gradually but surely going on. Educational necessities are coming to the front tending to make our colleges very much alike in their technical work. The religious atmosphere may be different in different colleges, but the tendencies in all are toward a broader culture and a more diversified professional life. A young man is no longer carried

along upon the drift of the family or the school into the ministry. The influences may tend that way, but they are not urgent. If he enters the ministry it must be by his own choice and determination.

It would be interesting to ask how this change has affected the intellectual and spiritual quality of the ministry. Doubtless opinions would vary at this point. Possibly the facts would vary in different localities and among different denominations. We can only say, as the result of a somewhat careful observation, that comparing present candidates for the ministry with those of twenty years ago, we think there has been an appreciable gain in independent action, moral purpose, and depth of consecration. The young men who are to-day entering the ministry seem to us to have a better understanding of the reasons of their choice, to measure more completely the opportunities which the ministry affords, and to have a simpler and more vital apprehension of the truth which they are to proclaim.

But the greater question before the public mind has regard to the effect of this change upon the numbers entering the ministry. It is assumed that there is a decline in numbers. Statements are from time to time put forth showing the increasing necessities of the church in its various fields of ministerial labor. And it is argued from this state of affairs that the present call to the ministry lies chiefly in this present necessity. We have no accurate means of verifying or denying the fact referred to, but, allowing it to be true, we take issue with the use which is made of it. The necessities of the church do not constitute the chief call to the ministry, and in our opinion ought not so to be urged. This is not the true approach to young men. It is too much like the resort of a declining cause. It is the appeal of discouragement and despair. It does not strike the key-note of Christianity in its call for men. That is always a note of courage, enthusiasm, triumph.

Furthermore, this argument overlooks the plain fact that very much of consecrated power which may seem to have been lost to the church through the ministry has been regained through the laity. The ministry is no longer the only claimant upon the consecration of the church. It still represents the greatest but not the only opportunity of service. Account must be made of the vast increase of varied opportunity within the past fifty years. The church is in every way the stronger and richer for the multitudes of consecrated men who are not in the ranks of the ministry, some of whom may have been diverted from its ranks by the call of other opportunities. They are of incalculable service where they are, guiding public opinion, holding trusts, accumulating fortunes by Christian methods for Christian uses. We must not allow ourselves to ignore or underestimate the fair demands of the laity of the church to its proportion of consecrated life, in urging the claims of the ministry.

But the chief objection to this method of gaining recruits lies in the fact that the call to the ministry is not primarily through an outward, but through an inward necessity; the inward intensified by the outward,

but not originating in it. The call is always from within. Of two men before whom the same outward necessity is presented, the one responds rather than the other, because he has insight, sympathy, love. It was said of our Lord that when "he saw the multitudes he had compassion on them." His sight was insight. Others looked upon the same men and women: they did not *see* them. He alone saw them, and in his power to communicate his insight and spirit, and to train disciples from within in the whole spirit and temper of their minds, we have the ground of his call to discipleship.

We do not affirm that those only should enter the ministry who have a natural disposition towards it. There is a sense in which it is conspicuously true that a minister is "made," not "born." Many a man becomes a minister through great contentions and struggles, through natural hesitations and shrinkings, through oppositions of ambitions, through mental and spiritual perplexities and doubts. In all such cases, however, *the struggle is the call*. It is seldom that one under such an experience can afford to restrain the nobler impulse, or attempt to satisfy in lower ways the disquieting conviction. Those, for example, who have given over preparation for other professions, or who have abandoned them in early life for the ministry, under this inward necessity, have not often made a mistake. Whenever a life rises above the indifference of the commonplace in respect to its work, it ought to thankfully accept the impulse which forces it up through struggles and contentions into the freedom of its best activity.

It does not seem to us that the call to the ministry is so mysterious and complicated a matter as it is sometimes supposed to be, if it is viewed in the clear light of Christianity. Assuming the fact of consecration, and the no less requisite fact of common sense, why should a young man become a minister rather than devote himself to any other form of Christian service? Certainly it should be because of the possession, and usually because of the conscious possession, of those powers which make the ministry effective in the service of Christ. We grant the doubt attending one's knowledge of himself, we grant the unexpected development of power in action, we grant the incoming of new and sometimes determining factors into the life; still we believe that the reasons for entering the ministry lie in the possession of certain necessary, and within reasonable limits, ascertainable qualifications for the ministry.

What are the prime qualifications for the ministry, the possession of which constitutes a call to the ministry? We name but two. All others are included in these, or are of secondary importance.

One of these is the personal holding of Christian truth under some necessity and power of communicating it to others. Truth is the material in which the preacher does his work. He must be attracted to it. He must honor and love it; he must fear and stand in awe of it. And it must be the truth as held in trust, a gospel to be preached. One may believe in and love the truth as a philosopher or as a theologian. The

preacher touches truth on its way to men. He sees its direction, feels its movement, and is inspired by its aim and motive. The preacher is equally a lover of truth and of men. They are never separate in his thought. He rejoices in the gospel as revealing God's thought of men and his purpose toward them, and he rejoices in men as he sees what is possible to them as subjects of redemption. The successful preacher, other things being equal, is the man who has faith in Christianity, who really dares to believe in the purposes of God as made known in Christ, and therefore to believe in men. Now all this is not to be expected, in full understanding and experience, of the young man who is turning his thoughts toward the ministry. But something of it is to be expected from the beginning. Here is the starting-point for the ministry, here is the first impulse toward it. Of course there will be growths in experience and constant developments of power. But they will be along the line which has been indicated. Truth as it is held more according to the mind of Christ will react upon personal character, and personal character enlarged and purified will show an unsuspected capacity for the holding of truth. This is what Mr. Brooks means when he says, "The world has not heard its best preaching yet. If there is more of God's truth for men to know, and if it is possible for the men who utter it to become more pure and godly, then, with both of its elements more complete than they have ever been before, preaching must some day be a complete power." We may reasonably expect a like progress in the history of the individual preacher, provided his work is begun under the right incentives.

The other qualification for the ministry is in the possession, to some degree, of the power to win men. The ministry necessitates personal contact with life, specially through the pastorate. The preacher masses men, brings them under a common experience and motive, and seeks to secure a common result. The pastor individualizes. He works from man to man, and in this work personality plays as large a part as in the pulpit. For the work requires insight and sympathy, tact and courage, and above all things patience. It is not difficult to love men if one can choose his own conditions. It is very much easier for example to love some sinners with the love of pity than to love some saints with the love of respect. And yet how much of the work of the ministry lies in "the perfecting of the saints." It is this love of man as man, regardless of conditions, patient under obstacles, never expecting too much of men, but always reassuring and inspiring them to do their best, that characterizes the method of the true minister. Enlarge and intensify it, and you have the motive and method of the missionary. Whenever a man casts in his lot with a tribe or race, remote and alien, it means that he loves man as man, and that he has faith in his spiritual capacity under the gospel. And this love and faith will enable any one, be he minister or missionary, to win men. And in winning men he will also be able to use them. So he builds up the church and makes it aggressive. The natural outcome and

expression of this power is leadership. He teaches men how to carry out their personal consecration, and then how to coöperate with one another in the service of Christ's kingdom.

Here, again, we are not to expect too much of a young man in his thought of the ministry. He may not be sufficiently conscious of his power over men to be assured of success, but he can tell whether he is sensitive to them or not, whether he has faith in their spiritual capacity or not, whether he loves them in some narrow and sentimental way, or whether he loves them with the breadth and patience of the Christian heart.

The call to the ministry, as we have insisted, is not a general call to consecrated service. That has gone before and has been obeyed. The laity may be and should be as consecrated as the ministry. The ministry represents a specialized form of consecration. As a calling it has its own requirements, and insists upon fit qualifications in those who enter it. These demands are not arbitrary or unreasonable, or difficult to be understood. Assuming all those elements which fill up the really consecrated life, and acknowledging the aid of the Holy Spirit, it asks specially for responsiveness to truth, and for sensitiveness to men, on the part of those whom it would employ.

The ministry can afford to carry its fair share of men of moderate ability. It cannot afford to carry one man to whom it cannot teach Christ's truth, whom it cannot inspire with his spirit, whom it cannot kindle with his love to men. And because we believe this, we believe that those tests should be put forward which will secure men who will add to the power of the ministry rather than increase its numbers. The call to the ministry is not a mysterious and mystical voice which calls for an interpreter; neither is it a call which any man can heed without regard to his aptitude for the work, and the consciousness of those powers which it demands.

THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES AND THEIR FOREIGN MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

THE title is adopted advisedly. Although the Congregational churches do not elect the members and officers of the American Board, they do employ it as their agent to perform a certain work, and if it were not for the men and the money provided by the churches its occupation would be gone. Formerly it was an agent employed by several denominations. Now its work is almost exclusively confined to administering the foreign service of the Congregational churches. It is an idle boast, therefore, that the Board is an independent corporation. Should its nominal become a real independence it would be an idle society.

The question is already distinctly asked by several churches, in their corporate capacity, and by some members of nearly all the churches, whether their attitude towards the Board shall be changed. The ques-

tion takes a practical form as the time comes around when annual contributions for foreign missions are usually collected. Every one must make a responsible decision, for his gift, even if small, is an indorsement of the agency through which it is utilized. When the last contribution was called for there was general, almost universal, satisfaction with the methods of administration. But during the year a policy has been disclosed by the Committee of the Board which has been met in many quarters by decided disapproval and opposition. Such statements as have been made by the officers and Committee, and such measures as they have adopted in support of their policy, have served to augment rather than to allay dissatisfaction. Not all supporters of the Board are disturbed, for some strongly indorse the policy, but a large proportion disapprove. As representing those who seriously and honestly object to existing methods we have a clear judgment as to the course which should be pursued at the present juncture in respect to contributions of money, and we trust it may be helpful to some who are perplexed if we indicate our opinion.

The reasons for disapproval may be briefly enumerated. They are grave and cogent reasons, not to be compared with objections which have been made at other times to the use of annual meetings or the method of keeping accounts.

The first and principal reason for dissatisfaction is, that certain young men, well qualified for Christian service in foreign lands, have failed to receive appointment, and that one devoted and successful missionary has not succeeded in obtaining permission to return to India. The only reason given for this singular procedure is that these men are not willing to affirm the opinion that for all human beings, without exception, opportunity of salvation through Christ is limited to this life. Even those who have no opinion as to God's dealings with nations which are ignorant of the gospel find that their cases are indefinitely postponed.

Another reason for disapproval is that certain expectations raised by action taken at the meeting of the Board in Des Moines have thus far been disappointed. When the recommendation made by the Business Committee was unanimously adopted it was understood that the Prudential Committee would use their utmost endeavors immediately to open the way for Mr. Hume's return to his waiting mission. The resolution could not well have been more explicit without showing disrespect to the Committee. Yet, on one pretext and another, action has been delayed, and proffers of coöperation from an important church, and from influential pastors, in determining the theological fitness of Mr. Hume have been repulsed. Indications that a case against him is being worked up have still further discouraged those who advocate his return.

Another cause of disturbance is the fact that the Committee in refusing appointment or reinstatement on account of theological opinions virtually assumes ecclesiastical functions which properly belong only to the churches

through their appointed representatives. All Congregationalists are jealous of such usurpation.

Still another cause for disapproval is objectionable methods to which the Committee and one of the Secretaries have resorted to strengthen their position. Part of the time they have attempted to ignore the real issue by asserting that final decisions have not been made; that more time is needed to weigh all the facts; that no application has been rejected; that all the cases are still under consideration, — till the impression has been made that a dilatory and temporizing course has been deliberately adopted. The sending out to candidates for appointment, and to pastors, private creeds has seemed to some highly reprehensible. The latest instance, which is so obviously unsuitable that several papers have sharply criticised it, is the distribution of a creed which contains nearly all the clauses of the Apostles' Creed, but interpolates at various points other clauses. The historic sense is offended, and reverence is affronted by thrusting clumsy phrases into company with the stately diction of the ancient formula. It seems almost dishonest to send out this conglomeration without a word of explanation.¹ With this creed there is distributed

¹ Various explanations of the origin and distribution of this creed have been offered. The *Advance* says: "It seems that some man in Boston, quite likely the printer, who wishes to advertise his skill, and at the same time do a neat job in the way of tract distribution, has sent out, along with official documents from the distributing rooms of the American Board, a fine specimen of his handiwork." The intimation is that the printer revised the creed, and that the officers of the Board were ignorant of his action in printing and inclosing it. The *Congregationalist* says: "Another mountain has sunk to a molehill. Complaint having been made that the so-called Apostles' Creed, in a well-amended form, has been sent out through a perversion of funds of the American Board, inquiry reveals the fact that a few copies of such a document, printed at private expense, were — perhaps without sufficient thought — inserted in certain parcels of matter sent out from the Missionary Rooms. As that sending ceased as soon as it was known that offense was taken from it, no great harm surely has been done." The intimation here is that some person was so much interested in the distribution of the well-amended creed that he made a gift of money for the express purpose of circulating it, and that the officers of the Board consented to the distribution only because the expense was to be covered in this exceptional way. Rev. Judson Smith, one of the Secretaries of the Board, in a letter to the *New Haven Palladium*, correcting an imperfect report of his conference with Yale divinity students, says: "In answering an inquiry about the so-called new Apostles' Creed I am represented as saying, 'No member of the Committee nor any one of the executive officers had anything to do with it.' What I really said was, 'No member of the Committee, nor any one of the executive officers, except its author, had anything to do with it.'" The italics are his own. The intimation here is unmistakable that one of the executive officers of the Board made all the revisions and put the changed creed into circulation, without the knowledge or consent of any of his associates. The *Advance* can now make a more probable guess than that it was "some man in Boston, quite likely the printer." The two religious papers quoted represent it as an act of the slightest consequence that the most ancient

in the envelopes of the American Board a leaflet asking that special thank-offerings be made on account of signal answers to prayer at the last annual meeting! There are some to whom this trifling, not to say trading, with the most sacred feelings, and this assuming that the passage of a certain resolution was in answer to prayer, are, to say the least, extremely painful. There have been other acts, trifling in themselves, which have both annoyed and offended earnest supporters of missions.

There are many who for some or all of these reasons are deeply grieved, and by turns indignant, with the procedure of the Committee. They are aware in part of the justification offered. They do not doubt that some of the Committee are honestly opposed to any opinion different from their own relative to God's grace to the heathen. But they cannot fail to perceive that, with whatever conscientiousness there may be, there has also been on the part of some who are most responsible quite too much diplomacy. It is to be desired that the real issue be frankly declared, that no attempts be made to obscure or change it, and that it be adjudicated in some suitable, open, and decisive manner. The actual difference of opinion is not enough in the judgment of those who are dissatisfied to prevent coöperation, and it is not clear to them why from any point of view it should create division.

What, now, shall be done about gifts of money? Shall one continue to give as if nothing had happened? The course which has been adopted by the Old South Church of Boston commends itself as eminently wise, in the light of explanations given by the pastor, Mr. Gordon, in the annual sermon on foreign missions. That church has continued and even increased its usual contribution, although dissatisfaction with the management of the Board is almost universal, and an honored member of the church has retired from the Prudential Committee on account of the objectionable policy adopted.

The reasons which seem to us decisive for contributing the usual amount of money to the Board this year may be reduced to three.

The first reason is that the foreign work, which has not been abridged, is going forward as usual. Our missionaries in the field should not be compelled to suffer first and foremost for the mistakes of others. Many of them disapprove the policy of the Committee. Some of them are not fully aware of that policy. No hasty action should be taken which would seriously cripple the work abroad.

and most generally accepted of the historic creeds should be tampered with, and that the sanction of the American Board should cover such presumption. The *Congregationalist*, however, having advertised it (January 6th) as "the Creed," and having pronounced it "well amended," should, instead of apologizing for him, have made known to the public the person who, at this late day, all of himself, has successfully amended the Apostles' Creed. As the original authors are unknown, perhaps the latest redactor will modestly remain in obscurity, and be known to history only as one of the executive officers of the American Board, who resided in or near Boston in the year of grace 1887.

A second reason is the remaining possibility of securing a change in the policy adopted by the Committee. Final action has not been taken. The Committee was instructed at Des Moines to make a report on this subject at the next annual meeting. The churches should await the action of that meeting, even if right decisions are not reached in the mean time. While it now seems as if further postponements beyond that date could not be tolerated, the opportunity should be awaited. If the churches maintain contributions at the usual point, the moral right of pastors and others who are corporate and honorary members to participate in debate could not be challenged. So long as it is intended to use the constitutional methods of discussion and voting it is not advisable to resort to material pressure by refusing supplies.

The third reason is the serious responsibility of weakening a great organization suddenly, and of adopting measures which may signify the creation of a new society without deliberate and concerted action. Such a course should not be entered on until it is shown beyond a peradventure that the difference is too great to allow further coöperation. In the heat of controversy differences are exaggerated. Time and patience may reduce the importance of the issue. If other motives than zeal for the truth have intensified feeling they may be distinguished and eliminated. The unwillingness of individuals to acknowledge a fault or to change a method may be overcome. It would be lamentable to impair the efficacy of an established society for no better reason than partisan feeling or personal animosities. Time enough should be taken to make it clear to all concerned what the real issue is, to separate that issue from all that is temporary, incidental, partisan, and personal, so that it may be intelligently decided whether a true catholicity is broad enough to include actual differences of opinion on a given subject.

We should think it proper for pastors whose churches are disturbed in this matter to explain publicly the reasons for taking the usual contribution. It is not likely that the Committee will draw inferences favorable to their policy from the continuance of donations. Whatever constructions they may offer to the public, they know perfectly well that in very many cases it is the patience and wisdom, not the approval of givers, which maintain financial support, and that relations which are already strained cannot endure a prolonged tension.

We are by no means without hope that the two wings of the denomination will continue to work together in support of foreign missions. We hope that wise counsels will prevail, and that the will of the Board expressing the will of the churches will authorize the Committee to change its policy. Not till hope is destroyed should vital relation to the Board be relinquished.

The immediate course seems clear. When we know the next step to be taken we should take it, and leave later action to be determined by the development of events.

We are confident that, whatever may be the future of our mission-

any society, the future of missions is in the hands of the more catholic party in the churches and in the denominations. The means employed through agencies and administrations must sooner or later be adapted to the largeness of the end, and to the movements of the Spirit of God in the hearts of those whom the love of Christ constrains to preach the gospel in all the world. Any society must learn that its position is that of a servant to the churches, and must cease to lord it over God's heritage. We can therefore bide our time. Only a losing cause needs to resort to doubtful, or secret, or hasty methods. We may hope and toil for a happy issue out of present contentions and for a firmer union in the love and service of our Master.

In striking contrast with the course we have suggested above, and which some churches have adopted, is the advice given by an influential journal with regard to a Western college. Information has been received that four out of eleven members of the Board of Trustees and one of the professors of Yankton College, Dakota, have resigned because the other trustees, the president of the college, and another professor are in sympathy with Andover views. The excellent reason given for resigning is that the college will be more likely to prosper if theological controversies are avoided. The "*Congregationalist*" adds two brief comments. One is, that "three of these retiring trustees have been identified with the college from its inception, and all of them are Christian gentlemen, whose judgment is deserving of profound respect." Is it to be inferred that the seven remaining trustees are not Christian gentlemen, and that their judgment is not equally entitled to profound respect? The other comment, which seems to be uncalled for, at least till the other side is heard from, is as follows: "Benevolent Congregationalists who may be solicited about this time to aid Yankton College will do well to look at the subject in the light of these facts." The meaning is that if the officers or trustees of a Western college presume to sympathize with Andover their institution should be deprived forthwith of pecuniary support. This is proscription or coercion. As a large number of benevolent Congregationalists in this vicinity also sympathize with Andover, and especially at this juncture, the advice above quoted may perhaps lead to giving as well as to withholding.

HOW IT LOOKS IN INDIA.—A COMMUNICATION.

"WHEN come back Mr. Hume, you tink?" asked a native Christian of me last night as he escorted me to my home. "I don't know." This is the only reply I can give to a question more and more frequently raised by those who love him as the days go by and he does not return.

I am visiting the scene of the labors of my dear friend and classmate, Robert Hume. There is but one testimony as to his usefulness. In every

department his inspiring, organizing, or assisting hand was felt, and is now missed.

"He could do the work of any two ordinary men." "He was great for getting other people at work." "He could turn his hand to anything." "His students were thoroughly trained in the Bible." "You can't manage a theological class unless he returns." Such expressions are frequently heard from his colleagues or the native Christians. The villages, the Sunday-schools, the weekly paper, the theological school, so especially his care, where for five months of the year he delivered ten lectures a week, — all these and many other things testify to his past labors and the present need of him; and no missionary I have met knew the whole of India so well.

I find myself thinking and writing about him much as if he were dead; and in truth it seems as if death alone could have separated him from his field of work, and from the harvest which he alone can fully gather. All his brethren are noble men, each doing his own important work, reaping his own harvest; and none know better than they that there is no one who can make good his loss.

It is because of the distressing need of consecrated men who can to-day preach the gospel to the natives in their own tongue, and have their words reinforced by the confidence and affection of their hearers, that I am led to add my word to all that has been said concerning the bearing upon mission work of the belief of a universal gospel probation.

In the course of over six months already spent in the study of this work in Japan, Corea, China, Ceylon, and India, I have been brought into personal contact with between 400 and 500 missionaries, of different societies and countries. They are, as a rule, persons of marked individuality, ripe experience, and earnest devotion, little given to either speculation or dogma, engrossed in the actual work of the day and the spot, — at once sympathetic with the heathen and keenly sensitive to the evils of heathenism.

In their labors there is a striking diversity, sometimes almost amounting to a conflict of methods; and their theology is of every form and shade which can be called evangelical. From time to time discordant notes may be heard, arising mainly from differences of policy or temperament; yet the oneness of their spirit and aim, and the deeper harmony of their methods, has been most impressive.

An absorbing interest in the multitudinous work which fills the hearts and hands of these men has left me little time or thought for theological questions, particularly those of a speculative character; yet the anxious discussions at home find their echo abroad, and have caused frequent and familiar conversation with those supposed to be most interested in the future destiny of the heathen. Here, as in every department, there is great variety of opinion. The true missionary has very little to do with theories. He makes use of simple gospel truths and living gospel forces. He is in a terrible hand-to-hand fight with heathenism, which

demands all his energies. Few, probably, have any comprehensive theory as to the fate of the heathen, or would be so ready to dogmatize as are many at home; yet difficult questions as to destiny sometimes force themselves on the missionary.

I have found a few, although I think there are but few, who clearly and dogmatically hold that there can be no salvation except through the gospel; that this gospel is offered only in the present life, and that consequently all who do not have that offer here are utterly lost.

The large body of missionaries, however, would doubtless hold, on the one side, that the great mass of responsible beings who die in heathenism do find this life finally and fatally decisive of their future destiny; and on the other side, that there may be certain uncovenanted mercies of God, certain unrevealed ranges of his efficient working, which include a smaller or larger number of those who have never had even prophetic intimations of Christ, save by the longings of their own hearts, struggling in the dark against sin, and reaching out towards an unknown God. Beyond this point most would not venture; and they would, probably, regard as disastrous the announcement to the heathen of any other possibility of rescue from sin and its consequences than through the acceptance of the gospel offer, here and now.

A certain number, however, of a more speculative turn of mind do endeavor to find light in either the letter or spirit of the Bible that will enable them to define to themselves somewhat more clearly these hoped-for, if unrevealed, possibilities. Such thinkers seem to be of two classes. Some confidently affirm, from the study of Romans and their experience, that there are those among the heathen who do live up to the light they have, and that any such dying without the knowledge of Christ are saved without faith in Him, through repentance of their sins. Besides these, I have found a certain number, in different missions and countries, both younger and older men, who believe that they are, at least, not forbidden by Scripture, if not warranted by its drift, to hold that the destiny of men is determined only by the attitude they assume toward the Incarnate Son of God, and that in order to take any such attitude towards Him an opportunity will be given every man.

I have also found a few who, although they apprehend this latter conclusion to be correct, yet feel that it is a dangerous one, and therefore decline to think upon the subject, lest they should be led to embrace this conclusion.

There are, besides these classes, some who prefer to leave the question on open one, concerning which they will make no definite affirmation, because they believe it is not settled by the Scriptures.

It will thus be seen that there is no essential difference between the views held abroad and at home. I do not know that any real light is shed upon the subject by contact with the heathen, or that the missionaries are any wiser in this respect than our home pastors. There is the same variety here as there. Only I think that whatever opinion a

missionary may hold on this subject, there is apt to be more reality in his conception, and perhaps more intensity, because just beyond those he is trying to save from their doom he catches a clear vision of unreached millions upon whose destiny he can only ponder.

But apart from the agitation now prevailing at home, I have not found a single instance in the missionary field where any of the views just named have proved in themselves either divisive or perversive.

Other causes of division and injury are not infrequent. Denominational peculiarities as to baptism or ritualism have proved harmful. Sectarian zeal has made different missions parasitic and antagonistic to one another. Premillenarianism, in its emphatic and exaggerated forms, has occasionally warped both the work and the worker. Peculiar theories of faith unbalanced by common sense have exposed some to suffering and disaster. Missions have been rent by strife as to methods of work. One or two cases have appeared where the doctrine of conditional immortality has been held in such a way as greatly to hinder the usefulness of its advocates. And a missionary of fine talents has lately retired from his position on account of his departure from the common faith in the deity of Christ. Then there are men who make a hobby of their orthodoxy and run afoul of every windmill on the plain.

But I have yet to find the first case where the belief in a universal gospel probation has chilled the ardor of a missionary, or disturbed the peace of a mission. It, doubtless, *might* be so held as to do both. I have not yet found such an instance.

The withholding of men at home will do more than all else to force a division if not a perversion into the field. Out here all dread the day when the native Christians come to understand why Mr. Hume is detained from his work. Whither the questioning it will cause among them will lead, no one can tell. It is certain, however, that the recent disturbances at home have not only puzzled and perplexed laborers out here, not only distressed those who call for men and feel themselves almost abandoned to fight out their desperate battles alone, but have actually raised questions which these disturbances have sought to check, and may precipitate upon many a mission discussions that by every consideration should be avoided. As a matter of fact, one of the things which might most incline an unbeliever in the doctrine of future probation for the heathen to accept that doctrine is the consideration how poorly the church of to-day improves the present probation.

Before this time, we have encountered closed doors. To-day, every door is wide open. *Now* is the day of the Lord. Millions are ready to hear the gospel, not, indeed, longing for it, yet accessible to it. Everywhere I find endless opportunity; everywhere fields white for the harvest; everywhere but few laborers. These few workers, men and women, stand heroically in the breach they have made in the walls of heathenism, everywhere doing the work of double their number, many just on the verge of exhaustion. They cry, "Send us men for the gospel

fight! *Here is the opportunity! Where is the church?* You pray, "Thy kingdom come!" The kingdom and the King are coming. But where are those who shall prepare the way of the Lord? SEND US MEN!" And some at home make answer, "We cannot send men, not even those who would give their life to embrace this opportunity, unless they deny that there will ever be any other opportunity. If they have doubts on this point, they cannot come."

In the missions of most other societies I hear men affirming, "We cannot have more men because our Board has no money." But I must everywhere admit, "*We have the money, but they do not send the men.*" How can I help calling not only for my friend, Robert Hume, but for the young men of Yale and Andover, and the young women of Wellesley and Mount Holyoke, and all those of every other institution in our land who are ready to come to this great and whitening field?

None are wanted here but those who can pray and work with single heart and aim. None but those who are true disciples of Christ and will proclaim him as the sole Saviour and Lord of the world. No mere zeal for work, no sympathetic feelings alone will carry one surely through the vicissitudes, the delays, the seeming fruitlessness and failure of much missionary labor. Only supreme faith in the world-wide claims and the world-conquering power of our divine Lord will give unfailing hope and courage to the missionary. If any should think they can bring out a new gospel other than that which, for the last eighteen centuries, has been saving sinners, they are not the ones to come. If any wish to try experiments with the heathen, and test their theories upon them; if they regard the missionaries now in the field as all wrong, insisting on wholly new plans and methods; if any are disposed to cling to their own special "doxy," when they should be clasping and wielding the sword of the Spirit, they are not wanted here. The very best and choicest of men and women are needed;—those who are sound in body, mind, and heart; those who will work on the same principles and methods as Mr. Hume has employed during his twelve years of missionary labor. Just those are wanted whose greatest joy it is to serve Christ and proclaim his kingdom, announcing a present Christ, and insisting on immediate repentance and faith. Wherever such men and women are to be found, we call to them most earnestly from the mission field, "COME." And in the name of these dying heathen, whose last chance some of you believe this to be, we entreat the American Board and the churches,—SEND THE MEN WITHOUT DELAY.

Edward A. Lawrence.

AHMEDNAGAR, MARATHI MISSION, INDIA.

Dec. 12, 1886.

THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

A GENERAL VIEW OF MISSIONS.

V. EAST INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO. — CHINESE EMPIRE.

EAST INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO. — Very little, beyond the most general outline, is known to Anglo-Saxon Protestants respecting the state of Protestant Christianity in this vast archipelago, although the most of it is in the possession of the Protestant Dutch. Indeed, even the general facts are hardly known to us. But the "*Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*" for 1883 contains very specific information as to the present state of things here, which we shall lay at the basis of our present report.

The difficulties in the way of obtaining a clear understanding of the fortunes of Protestant Christianity in the East Indian islands rest partly upon the fact that the native Protestant churches in the Dutch islands have a much longer history than those of British India (except in Ceylon, which was formerly a Dutch island), and partly that, though there are many missionary societies in the Netherlands, most of the native Christians in the archipelago are not now, and many never have been, under their care, but are served by clergymen in government pay. This course of things will be best understood by following Dr. Schreiber's article in the "*Zeitschrift*," which considers affairs first, as they stood previously to this century, and secondly, as they have taken shape within this century.

1. *The Times of the East India Company.* — Both the two great Protestant naval powers, England and Holland, have had each its East India Company, on whose conquests rest the present vast Dutch and English possessions in the far East. Comparing the attitude of each of the two great trading societies towards missions, we must concede, ostensibly at least, a vast superiority to the Dutch. The English Company, up to the beginning of this century, not only did not favor missions, but had been steadily hostile to them. The Holland Company, on the other hand, itself carried on active and, after their fashion, highly successful missions among its subject populations.

The motive of this activity, however, was far more political than religious. The Dutch were much less concerned to make Christians out of the East Indian pagans than Protestants out of the East Indian Catholics. Having conquered the islands from Spain and Portugal, which had been exceedingly zealous in spreading Roman Catholicism upon them, the Dutch did not feel secure of the loyalty of their inhabitants so long as these were united with their former masters by the bonds of a common creed. If they could Protestantize them, they felt sure of them. For instance, when they had very unexpectedly gained possession of Amboyna, in 1605, they contented themselves with banishing the priests, and taking down the crosses, and establishing in the church of which they had robbed the Catholics a Sunday service in Dutch! There was also some slight provision made for teaching the children in Dutch. Not until 1615 did a clergyman come, and in 1618, a second. They were both very godly and devoted men, and naturally finding small success in teaching the people Dutch soon resolved to learn the people's language. But here, says Dr. Schreiber, they made a most calamitous misstep. So

many languages prevail in the East Indies — sometimes several on one island — that the clergymen — we can hardly call them missionaries — were tempted into the short cut of giving all their instruction in the Malay, which is from of old a *lingua franca* throughout the archipelago. But this was unhappily a language instinct with the genius of the most implacable Mohammedanism. And moreover it is nowhere to the islanders the speech of the heart, but merely the speech of the market. It was to them a medium of no other thoughts or feelings than those that had to do with sordid chaffering. To use it for the purposes of religion and education, therefore, was very much as if we should try to Christianize the Chinese by the means of pigeon English. And to make matters worse, the form of Malay chosen, being of course a thoroughly adulterated and mutilated one, soon called out a protest from a part of the clergy, who insisted on preaching and teaching in classic Malay, and so fairly showed themselves to the bewildered islanders as those that were talking into the air. This perplexing quarrel over the High and the Low Malay has gone on to this day, affecting alike teaching, preaching, and translation.

Purely political as were the motives of the East India Company in this professed zeal for the spread of the gospel in their possessions, the Netherlands churches were thoroughly in earnest in the matter, and through their constant pressure on the Company, it came about that many genuinely zealous clergymen were sent out.

Nevertheless, as Dr. Schreiber remarks, the whole method and principle of proceeding was unsound. Not persuasion and conviction, but compulsion, was the means chiefly relied on. Indeed Kalkar, in his "History of Missions," represents the missionary operations of Spain and Holland as about equally odious, and opposite to true Christianity. Dr. Schreiber is more reserved, but remarks that in their haste to anticipate or reverse Roman Catholic and Mohammedan successes, the Dutch contented themselves with a merely external acceptance of Christianity. And what instruction they gave was so thoroughly colored and shaped by reference to the ideas and circumstances of the Netherlands, that much of it was meaningless to the natives, even had it not been conveyed in a half-meaningless language. However, under this method the number of professed Christians grew so fast, that a sufficiency of European instructors could not possibly be provided for them. Accordingly endeavors were made to train up native helpers. But whether these were sent to Holland, or trained at home, the whole course of preparation was so thoroughly clumsy, and so utterly unaccommodated either to the mental atmosphere of the helpers or to the requirements of the people, that it was of little value. And as the Church of the Netherlands had no control in the East Indies, and the church courts there were always uncertain of their rights as against the government and one another, the purely worldly policy of the Company, which hardly concerned itself even about the morals of the clergy themselves, was here and there favorably affected by Christian pressure, but vitiated the work as a whole.

2. *The Nineteenth Century.* — The conquest of Holland by Napoleon put an end, for good and all, to the dominion of the Dutch East India Company. And when the Netherlands in 1814 reëmerged as a kingdom, the control of the archipelago lay thenceforth in the hands of the government. This fact involves also a new era for the native Christianity of the East Indies. Let us first consider in what state this was found.

The number of nominal Christians in 1800 has been reckoned at 200,000. Dr. Schreiber regards this as decidedly too high an estimate. Taking the various insular groups, he adduces facts which reduce the probable number by more than half. Their condition was more discouraging than their fewness. The most of them had never known much more of Christianity than the name. It was even said that masters who were detained from the communion would send their slaves as proxies, and that many of the natives, instead of consuming the bread, would slip it aside to carry home as an amulet. Multitudes who had been compelled into an outward acceptance of Christianity not only remained heathen or Moslem in fact, but sometimes relapsed into apostasy, accompanied with blasphemous ravings against the Saviour, who had been so unworthily misrepresented to them. For such an offense one man was actually burned alive by a governor! And to this day, in many islands, all manner of heathen superstitions and vices prevail among these professed Calvinistic Protestants.

Yet the knowledge of reading and writing was pretty general among them, and in many quarters a longing was expressed, to be more deeply instructed in the truths of the gospel. Christian life, therefore, though oppressed by virtual heathenism, had a hold. Large numbers, however, on various islands, had relapsed into open heathenism, or, more commonly, had gone over to Islam. But before the Christian name had disappeared from the archipelago, a happy revival of spiritual life and missionary zeal at home checked the decline. Voices have been heard also from officers of the government, pointing out the mischievous results, even in a political point of view, of past favor shown to the spread of Islam. Thus Comptroller Stormer, in a report rendered in 1879, says: "In this way, namely, by sending out more preachers, and founding more schools, it would not only be possible to keep alive the last remains of Christianity, which on many of these islands is at the point of death, but new Christian congregations would everywhere arise, and culture be advanced. For the one and only way to civilize the natives consists in first making them Christians. Heathen, at least in these regions, have in general little objection to the acceptance of Christianity, but let them once become Mohammedans, and the hope of their conversion is gone. Twenty-five years ago the Kei islanders might yet have very easily been gained for Christianity, but the opportunity was neglected, and now they have become a prey to the paralyzing doctrine of Mohammed. . . . Yet there is still time to Christianize the Southwest and Southeast Islands; in a few years it may be too late."

For a number of years Java, Sumatra, and other islands had even some English and American missionaries at work upon them. But in 1842 all foreign societies were interdicted from further labors in the Dutch East Indies. The Anglo-Saxons, however, appear to have gathered no churches. The one exception to the general prohibition of foreign labor is the Rhenish Missionary Society. This, too, was at first handled very suspiciously by the authorities, but is now in their cordial confidence, and is actively helped by them. Since 1862 its work has developed so rapidly and happily that it is now in every respect the first of the societies laboring in the Dutch East Indies, the leading Netherlands society having surrendered a great part of its activity into the hands of the government. The German society has in Borneo, Sumatra, and Nias, 30 missionaries, 26 stations, about 60 churches, and about 9,000

native Christians, of whom 700 are in Borneo, 400 on Nias, and the rest in Sumatra. Of Dutch societies there are 9 laboring in the archipelago. When missionary zeal awoke in Holland with the century, it was directed first to South Africa, then to the mainland of India. But since 1820 the Dutch societies have concentrated their attention almost entirely on their own colonial possessions, which are certainly of vast extent compared with the home resources.

Of the Dutch East Indies, some are larger than Java, but the population of that island, 20 millions, is twice that of all the others put together. They are therefore regarded as mere dependencies of Java. Yet the outlying islands first drew missionaries to them, who found relics of Christianity here, while Java as yet had hardly any. Besides, the Dutch government, in its cold-blooded secularism, for a long while admitted no Christian missionaries into Java, except in the immediate neighborhood of Batavia, out of fear of displeasing the Mohammedans. It has gradually been brought to a better mind by the growing conviction that Islam is the absolutely implacable foe of every government that is not Moslem, and that to foster it is like endeavoring to tame a tiger. The colonial history of Spain may contain more shocking passages, but for passionless, relentless selfishness, that of Holland appears to bear away the palm. Here, at least, a political economy appears to have been enjoyed untainted by any defilement of ethics. But policy has at last found out that piety had been wiser than itself, and this Christian power no longer endeavors to keep Christianity out of its greatest province. The various missions in Java, however, are so at cross-purposes with each other, and reflect with so unhappy a fidelity the schisms of the mother-country, which appear to be peculiarly embittered, that there is a sad waste of force. There are in all in Java, under 8 societies, about 7,000 native Christians. Some large native churches are under the care of the government. A society for common consultation among the missionaries has lately been formed.

The *Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap* (Netherlands Missionary Society) has, since 1820, been sending out missionaries, both Dutch and German, to all parts of the archipelago, many of whom have been especially blessed to the revival of the languishing remains of the elder Christian congregations. In this century the great work has been done in North Celebes, in the region known as the Minahassa. This deserves peculiar attention, for it has become "the flower and crown of the evangelical mission-work of our century in the Indian Archipelago."

The population of the province of Minahassa is about 100,000. The Spaniards had gathered some small Christian congregations along its coasts, which the Dutch, as elsewhere, compelled into Protestantism. They, however, amounted to nothing under either form of Christianity. But in 1828, P. Merkus, then governor of the Moluccas, wrote a letter to the *Zendelinggenootschap*, entreating it to send missionaries to the Minahassa, expressing his confident belief that the inhabitants would be found ready to accept the gospel. This expectation has been richly fulfilled. Of the 100,000 inhabitants, 80,000 are now Christians. In some districts of the province the last remaining heathen have been baptized. 10,000 children are gathered into schools, of whom, however, only half are regular attendants. The government has now, with the consent of the society, assumed control of both churches and schools,

and cares for them on a well-considered and conscientiously executed plan, and on a liberal scale. The main control is in the hands of white clergymen, but these are supported by a very numerous and skillfully graded staff of native helpers, both for church and school, correlated in such a way as to furnish an excellent guarantee that the spiritual gifts of the churches shall be efficiently developed and economically ordered, the basis of organization being, of course, the stable Presbyterianism of Holland. The churches appear to be in just that stage of advancement in which the admixture of religious zeal with the strong sense of a good civil administration may be peculiarly helpful.

Heathen superstition and vice are by no means cleansed away, even from the Christian congregations of the Minahassa. Nevertheless, in whole districts of the province we come in contact with the holy influence of the Christian spirit in every sphere of domestic and congregational life. The observance of Sunday leaves scarcely anything to be desired. Besides the usual worship of the morning, the Sunday afternoons are devoted to all manner of conferences or to the instruction of youth. There is a most gratifying increase in the number of associations, of men, women, and youths, for various worthy ends. The women's societies, especially, are a powerful help in the maintenance of a genuinely Christian family life and discipline, and for the refinement of domestic habits and manners. . . . "Domestic life is far enough from having reached its ideal; the mutual relation of parents and children is often far from the true standard; adultery and divorce still exist: yet there are also many communities in which such things are no longer known."

Next to the Minahassa, the region of the archipelago having the largest congregations is the group of islands of which Amboyna is the capital. This group shows 73 churches, with 37,744 parishioners, and 14,976 communicants.

As the missionary work swells beyond the possibility of easily compassing it, even in the measure originally contemplated, we shall now leave the East Indian Archipelago, contenting ourselves with these notices of the central and most perfectly organized work carried on here, but reserving to ourselves the privilege of gathering up at the end, here as elsewhere, such isolated facts as may appear worthy of note. We now turn to the great empire on the north.

CHINESE EMPIRE. — *Missions of the American Board.* — Mr. F. M. Chapin, of Kalgan, in the North China Mission, writing under date of November 15, 1884, of the effects on public feeling of the war with France, says: "We were thoroughly reviled," not at home, but in traveling, "in a way which showed their hearts, if nothing more. But the Chinese learn from experience; and all previous instances of mob violence have been so severely dealt with that no one cared enough for martyrdom to throw a stone." — Mr. Stimson, of the inland Shanse Mission in the North, to which we believe that Oberlin contemplates sending out most of her missionaries that go to China, writes, remarking on the very different temper shown towards the gospel in neighboring villages so much alike otherwise that it is hard to understand why they should differ in this respect. The Saviour seems to have noted the same phenomenon among the towns and villages of crowded Galilee. After noticing the chilling reception given him and his family in one village, where a marriage-feast was going on, Mr. Stimson says:

"In another town in the same region, nestled in a corner between two high hills, there was another marriage-feast. But there we had a crowd to listen to our discourse, several asking questions, showing that they listened as well as gaped. We sold a large number of books. One buyer was an old merchant, now very deaf. He may have heard the name of Jesus in Tientsin or elsewhere in his younger days. He seemed glad to see us, and examined the titles to our books carefully, insisting upon seeing all. He bought most of them. He appeared overjoyed when at the last I showed him an 'Evidences.' I could not refrain from laughing with the crowd, as, bowed over and rheumatic, he hurried for the second time to replenish his cash. At Tung Tuan a merchant invited me at once into his store, and we had a pleasant chat there. Meanwhile the villagers crowded in so as to obstruct the passage of customers to the counter. Excusing myself to the host, who purchased a couple of books, I went into the street and sold rapidly. Several borrowed cash in the store to pay for their books. At dark we left, but the next week my route took me through the place at noon. It was a Chinese festival day. About a hundred young men and boys were in the street in front of a temple. They quickly set up a shout: 'The foreigner has come!' We were very soon taken in charge, there being no inn there, and led to a private residence, where our horses were fed and tea and cakes set before us. For this no money would be accepted, and I presented them with books. We had a nice time there preaching and selling tracts and books. Another place deserves mention. Hsing Ti was represented to me as a fine town of more than a thousand families. It is about twenty miles from the city, over rough, hilly roads. . . . Imagine my surprise to find an insignificant, wide-spread village, of about three hundred families, under the Mien mountains, with a celebrated Buddhist monastery perched high up the overhanging cliffs. These rude mountain-people, however, treated us most civilly. The horses were fed in good style and remuneration refused. I was taken to a shop, and a number of men gathered there, including a priest, all of whom listened attentively to what we had to say about false gods and duty to the one God. They did not care about the idol up the mountain. They lived too near it and were too well acquainted with the priests and their character to be duped." This reminds us of the contrast, in the Middle Ages, between the people of Rome and the simple pilgrims from a distance. But here, as there, they pleaded the profitableness of the pilgrims to themselves. Still, the modern apostle, like the ancient, has often occasion, at least approximately, to contrast the house or city in which he finds "a son of peace" with one in which he does not.

— At Kalgan, in the North China Mission, the Week of Prayer was followed by a decided spiritual awakening, more immediately, however, affecting the Christians than the heathen. Its real depth will, of course, in the end, be measured by its results among the latter. — The missionaries at Kalgan have been surprised by a request for baptism from a young Mongol. He has been received, and is, as Mr. Chapin remarks, probably the only living Mongol Protestant church-member in the world, "the fruit of years of Christian toil and patience." He is a small official, governor of his township, and strongly urges the missionaries to come onward into Mongolia. He assures them that the confidence of the Mongols in Buddhism has been greatly overestimated. The

uncertainty whether Mr. Gilmour, of the London Society, stationed at Peking, the only Protestant missionary who can speak Mongolian fluently, can long continue his summer labors among the Mongols, inclines the missionaries of the Board to think favorably of the invitation. Of course, we must distinguish between the Mongols proper and that whole vast division of mankind of which they have been selected as the type.

— Mr. Ament, of the North China Mission, having visited the new Shanse Mission, gives from Peking his impressions respecting it. The people of Shanse were once great fighters, but are now as peaceable as any other subjects of the empire. The region is fast recovering from the terrible famine, but the spread of the opium-habit balances terribly on the other side, both spiritually, mentally, and materially. It is fearful to see how this habit is spreading in every direction throughout China, but especially, it should seem, in the North. Shamefully culpable as England is in this regard, she only offers what a deepening appetite begins more and more to crave. The able German missionary, Ernest Faber, whose articles in the "*Allgemeine Zeitschrift*" show him to have turned over in his mind very thoroughly all the features of Chinese life, expresses himself as convinced that this spreading appetite for opium shows that the profound corruption of Chinese habits has at last issued in a general depression of the powers of life, has undermined the stamina of the race. If this view is just, it is possible that, numerous and numerously increasing as the nation is, it might suddenly decrease and disappear. At present, however, there are no signs of this. As a French writer says, while a white flood rolls out from Europe over the world, the bearer of a Christian civilization, a yellow flood is beginning to roll out from China over the world, the bearer of a civilization hostile to Christianity. The issues are beyond our sight, but not beyond the sight of Him to whom all power is committed in heaven and earth. Meanwhile, through missionary effort, a Christian flavor is already beginning to mingle with the heathen flood, a flavor which will gradually intensify. . . . Mr. Ament says of Tai-ku, which is in Shanse, and which is the main seat of the mission: "Tai-ku is a remarkably fine city for one of the third rank. The province of Chihli can show nothing like it. Fine residences, with buildings two and three stories high, adorn the city. Many of these residences of the men formerly wealthy are now in decay because of the ruin of the families through opium. Hence the missionaries have been able to secure good commodious homes at comparatively cheap rates of rent. On all the premises there are buildings well adapted for use as chapels. On Mr. Stimson's premises there is a large room, easily turned into a street chapel. This room we opened for several days in succession, and seldom failed of attentive listeners. But the sad, sallow faces of the opium-smokers haunted us everywhere and dampened every enterprise. Men, women, children, and even the domestic animals are under the curse. . . . In Shanse the people's impressions of foreigners have all been good from the start. They first met them in the famine-relief work seven years ago. No merchants, or merely secular men, have displayed before them Western vices. The influence of putting on the native garb has been beneficial in the extreme. There is little of that prurient curiosity which so annoys the foreigners, and which is the occasion of so much trouble. Surely the door is opened in Shanse in a wonderful manner."

— We copy from the "*Missionary Herald*" for May, 1885, the para-

graph entitled "Reinforcements for China." The intelligence it gives has been widely published, but deserves to be embodied here in this compact summary: "We omitted to notice last month an item of great interest in connection with the departure from England of several young men, graduates of Oxford and Cambridge universities, who were going to China under the China Inland Mission. Several of the men are specially well known at the universities, and for reasons not suggestive of missionary consecration. One was the stroke oar of a 'university eight'; another captain of a 'university eleven'; one was an officer of the Royal Artillery, and another in the Dragoon Guards. As athletes they had won much renown among the students. These young men left brilliant prospects for themselves in England, and in addresses that indicated sound thought and consecration of soul bade farewell to their associates, calling on others to follow them to the fields of missionary service. The impression produced at the universities has been very profound, and young men of promise, some of them of wealth, have been consecrating themselves to service in the missionary field. The 'Record' newspaper speaks of the meeting held in Cambridge as the most remarkable held within the memory of those living. At Oxford, the vast area of the Corn Exchange, the largest building in the possession of the city, was filled to overflowing. Exeter Hall was so densely packed that the newspapers say it appeared to be a living mass of human beings. The departure of these promising young men is an event big with promise, not merely for China, but for England." We are aware how much the labors of Messrs. Moody and Sankey in the university towns have had to do with this birth of missionary ardor, so that America may claim an undivided moiety in the results.

— Miss Newton, of the Foochow Mission, says that a "mountain village, where we spent a Sabbath, has been the scene of a real work of grace within the year. Eight have been baptized already. . . . The Sabbath services are held in a poor old house, with only an earth floor, and everything is very rude; but warm hearts beat under rough exteriors, and it is far easier to teach these humble people of Jesus than to reach the proud, educated classes in Foochow and other cities." Here as elsewhere, while culture is no enemy to Christ, the conceit of culture is almost his deadliest enemy. — Mr. Sheffield, writing of the meditated work among the Mongols, — an intensely religious people, entirely devoted to Buddhism, — remarks that while this fact is a very great obstacle, yet, on the other hand, the fact is favorable that their language is full of religious ideas, needing to be redirected, but not needing, as in so many languages, to be created. Speaking of the friendliness of the imperial government towards Protestant missionaries, he remarks that the life of an American missionary, even in the rude Mongol territory, is safer than that of a Chinaman in America. He sums up the Mongol character, in contrast with the Chinese, as "simple, open-hearted, hospitable," and says that while their religious nature is not over-easily persuaded, it is, once persuaded, the more constant. They contrast strongly, he says, with the Chinese, "who are atheistic Epicureans, indifferent to all deities but the god of wealth." — Mr. Sprague, writing subsequently, describes a visit to the Mongol convert: "On arriving at our baptized brother's tents, he soon had us thawing out by his huge, glowing argol (buffalo chips) fire; drinking tea, and telling our experiences, which are better enjoyed around an open, blazing fire than on a frozen,

trackless plain. . . . It was good to hear the voice of prayer in a Mongol tent, and by a Mongol surrounded with his family and friends." Visiting another Christian home, he says: "After the hot supper of millet and cheese and salted tea, which our host provided, we again for an hour or two read the Word and had prayer. It seems strange, and yet most delightful, to hear Mongols speaking the language of faith and love to God." — At Kalgan, March 9, 1885, twelve were received to communion on profession of faith, and at Peking, March 1st, ten. — Dr. Porter, writing from Pang-chia-chuang, says that within the year they have received seven who have spent years in study, and remarks: "It is, perhaps, a little humiliating to men who can quote the whole range of the Confucian classics to find themselves absolutely puzzled by the simple questions which a study of the Bible brings to them." The shock of discovery that there is an infinity of truth, divine and human, of which China knows nothing, seems to have acted very salutarily upon them. — The ladies of the North China Mission hold meetings with the women, visiting, in the course of the year, more than twenty villages. — A magistrate of this region, being solicited from the village of Ho-chia-tun to suppress "the Jesus-doctrine, which was misleading many," excitedly exclaimed: "Do you take me for a fool? Am I to lose my place, like others? Do you not know how tremendous these foreigners are?" Thereupon there was a sudden cessation of all opposition. In all thirty-eight persons had been baptized in the village up to the beginning of 1885. — A little matter coming up at a Christian wedding in the Foo-chow Mission deserves noting, because it involves a much wider, and a profoundly important question. Mr. Walker says: "The more important guests, including Mr. Woodin and myself, saluted the couple, who returned the salutations by kneeling and knocking their heads. This part of the ceremony we hope to see done away with in time. The idea of thus kneeling is not bad, but the form used is excessive." The wider question involved is, How far can the national usages of China be regenerated, and how far are they incapable of regeneration? The two ways of regarding this question, as Herr Faber shows, were long ago represented in the Roman Catholic missions, by the Jesuits and the Dominicans respectively. The former, with that sound practical sense which distinguished them, contended that in order to Christianize China it is not necessary to Occidentalize her; while the latter, in their narrow rigorism, were for making a clean sweep of the whole fabric of national usage. On the other hand, the Jesuits, with that spirit of astute accommodation which they have sometimes carried to so scandalous an excess, defended many things which only a "non-natural" explanation could make out to be Christianizable; while the Dominicans, in their very narrowness, were intrepidly faithful in their protest against all such baptized Paganism. The final decision of Rome, peremptorily condemning the Jesuit missionary system in China from first to last, and taking no note of the explicit and often satisfactory explanations of the emperor in their behalf, exasperated the Chinese nation to the last degree. Thenceforth, says Faber, they felt that they could not be Christians without ceasing to be Chinese. This lordly contemptuousness of Rome towards the claims of nationality, which she could not refrain from insulting even in vindicating the truth, explains, while not excusing, many of the subsequent persecutions. And Herr Faber remarks that when the Protestants came, instead of attentively studying the two centuries of Christian missions before them, they

behaved as if Christ had never been preached in China before. This neglect of former experience — which was partly bigotry, and partly timidity — has been punished by their staggering from side to side under the two opposing influences, until now, as Protestant missions grow wider, there is danger of an almost inextricable confusion, a genuine Epicurean chaos of "push and pull," as to the true relation of Christianity to Chinese nationality. Herr Faber seems to intimate that the Americans have not been the least conspicuous for this heady impetuosity in deciding such questions according to their alien habits of thought, as, indeed, might have been expected from the mingled acuteness and self-conceit of our national, and above all our New England, character. Lengthening experience, however, gives mellowed wisdom. But Faber thinks the chaos will never be resolved into order until there is a native church strong enough to take the matter in hand for itself.

— Mr. Sprague, of the North China Mission, has an attendant, whom he had baptized. "When we reached his home, Ching-kê Ta, he brought his old father, fifty-nine years of age, to hear more of the doctrine. The result was, he took down his idols, destroyed them before us, and was baptized at once, as he understood the truth, and was thoroughly decided hereafter to serve God." — At Hangchow all the Protestant missionaries, with their native helpers, have united in a society for mutual improvement, and preaching outside of the chapels. Such a growth of unity will be most effective for the gospel. — From Yeung Kong, an inland city of Southern China, Mr. Hager writes: "We are pleased with the people, and though some rude language is indulged in, they are quite civil. The women interest us very much, for few of them bind their feet. I did not see one with bound feet. I ascended a neighboring hill and looked at this walled city of Southern China. To the south flows a large stream into the Pacific, upon the banks of which are numerous villages; to the east the mountains rise in their grandeur, clothed with the verdure of a Chinese spring." The beauty of hills and mountains appears to be interfused with the monotony of plains in China in a degree which must afford considerable relief from what appears to us to be the deadly sameness of the national character, which, however, perhaps familiarity shows to have as much variety as any other. — The "Missionary Herald" for October, 1885, gives the number of Protestant societies working in China as 33; male and female laborers (including wives of missionaries) 857; native helpers, of all classes, 1,450; communicants, 26,287.

— The notion that atheism exempts from superstition is conclusively refuted by China, which is substantially atheistic, and yet is thoroughly idolatrous, and bound hand and foot in superstition. In the Foochow Mission land had been bought on a hill near Shao-wu, for missionary purposes. But, as Mr. Walker writes, "There were two or three of the gentry, or literati, members of whose families had been buried at the foot of the hill where we had purchased, and these men came forward and contended that if we built on this hill it would spoil the 'Fung shui,' or good luck, of their ancestral graves. The land we had purchased was on the crest of a spur. . . . They said that the 'dragon's pulse' extended . . . through this spur to the graves below, and if we built there the pulse would be cut off and the dead robbed of their peaceful rest." The missionaries, not wishing to be uncharitable either to the dragon or the dead, finally effected a compromise. Throughout China improvement is held

in check by this dread of "the forces of nature," to which no restful trust in a controlling Providence brings a counterpoise. — A letter from Miss Porter, of the North China Mission, is instinct with good sense in judging of Chinese character and circumstances. She says: "The main features of Chinese domestic and social life are quite the best for them in their present condition. Not only not opposed to the gospel, their theories and standards are such as, if tempered by its spirit of love, would be truly admirable. The Shantung women are self-reliant, self-helpful, faithful wives and affectionate mothers. The young women are, as a rule, modest, and, accepting the position of subordination to mother-in-law and husband cheerfully, they rise out of it as the years go on to a place in the family counsels. One would hardly desire for them a larger freedom until a gradual change has come in all the conditions of society. Nor would one desire to see that change other than gradual. I imagine that their morals are far higher than those of a majority of the peasantry of Europe, and their manners are incomparably superior. Yet they are ignorant, superstitious, and give way to fits of passion, in which they use the vilest of language and seem utterly to forget that regard for appearances which is generally such a controlling motive."

— Dr. Blodget writes from Peking of a young native helper, Hung Shan Chung, the son of a native helper, Hung, who goes into a country district eighty miles south of Peking, where there are about forty baptized persons of all ages. He has an outfit from Peking, but beyond that is commended to the working of the principle that "the laborer is worthy of his hire." — Dr. Blodget, under date of Jan. 11, 1886, writes: "The back door has recently been opened into China. Steamers now go to Bahmo, only a few days' journey distant from Yunnan. Yunnan, Sz-Chuen, Kwei Chow, and Thibet will be easily reached by this route. Now that Burma is annexed to the British Empire, this route will doubtless soon be opened by placing military posts among the Kachins, in the mountains between Burma and China, so that travelers can pass safely this way instead of taking a long journey by way of Shanghai and the Yang-tze River. There is work for our Baptist brethren in fulfilling the long-cherished desire of Judson to enter China by the south-west; work, also, for the Inland Mission, which already has its missions in Yunnan, Kwei Chow, and Sz-Chuen. I trust the men will not be lacking."

— The Peking College has recently received an impulse in its forward movement. Above 500 candidates presented themselves for its examinations for entrance, of whom 100 or more will probably be received. These are lads and young men of the better classes, and of more learning and ability than those admitted in previous years. The president of the college and two of the older professors have recently been decorated with the rank of Chinese magistrates of the third and fourth grades respectively, which fact will have its influence in elevating the institution in the estimate of the Chinese. — Mr. Chapin writes respecting Shantung, whose women Miss Porter has described so favorably: "There is also a better preparation for the gospel, as is shown by the unrest of many who have forsaken the 'three religions' of their fathers, and are seeking in secret religious societies some patent key which will solve their doubts and unlock the great mysteries." The "three religions," of course, are Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism, two indigenous, the third Hindoo, which, remaining always distinct in themselves, are so

curiously compounded in the personal syncretism of the Chinese. Of the three, Taoism is the most impalpable, and the most degenerate. The cause of this lies in its essential doctrine, which, according to Faber, is "the possibility of attaining to a blessed immortality without passing through death." — Mr. Atwood, of the Shanse Mission, says that in the cities of that plain *all* the women, probably, and nine tenths of the men, and in the villages more than half the people, are slaves to opium. And even so the habit is increasing. Another famine would almost serve to depopulate the plain. And it is, he says, a thoroughly willing slavery. — Mr. Perkins, of Tien-tsin, describes a strange case of prostration from passion, such cases being not uncommon, and sometimes causing the loss of speech for weeks. "A Chinaman is a strange compound of stoicism and passion. Sometimes this latter amounts practically to madness or insanity. The question as to its being a demoniacal possession is of no practical interest. It must come from infernal sources: whether directly or indirectly makes but little difference." The case in question resulted from receiving a paternal oburgation to which the son felt bound to listen in absolute silence. — Mr. Perkins says: "The Chinese are not without religion, — far from it. The man who would not reply to his father's berating is an example of one kind. If he had chosen to do so, he could have found 'doctrine' for so doing. There is almost every kind of doctrine in China. But there is one kind which they are without. They are without God and without hope. God is not in all their thoughts, and as for hope, I can find nothing but a vague feeling that if their sins are not too many their future evil will not be very great. Confucianism knows nothing of mercy, and Buddhism knows no more. Requisition to the very last jot and tittle — this is Buddhism; and it is this which supplies the masses with their morality." — Mr. Perkins speaks of his teacher, who is also a daily preacher in their street chapel. He receives \$6 a month, but lately refused an offer of a sinecure which would have brought him \$10, on the ground that it was a fraud upon the government. He is a family man, and "to such a man money is not a convenience; it is life: and yet he is generous to a fault, and I have to show him the wrong of giving too much to beggars and to others who 'borrow' of him. He is a most lovable man, and it is a delight to watch the spirit of gentleness and love in which he preaches. When we have native churches supporting such pastors we missionaries can go home."

— The American Board has in China four missions: Hong Kong; Foo-chow; North China; and Shanse. The whole number of stations is 11; ordained missionaries, 26; total of Americans, 71; native helpers, 61; communicants, 1,175.

(To be continued.)

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

HISTORY OF INTERPRETATION: Eight Lectures preached before the University of Oxford in the Year MDCCCLXXXV. on the foundation of the late Rev. John Bampton. By FREDERIC W. FARRAR, D. D., F. R. S., Late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; Archdeacon and Canon of Westminster; Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen. 8vo, pp. xlviii, 553. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1886. \$3.50.

THIS book contains good work in a much neglected field. After an in-

introductory lecture on The Success and Failure of Exegesis (43 pages), the subject is divided naturally into Rabbinic (61 pages), Alexandrian (49 pages), Patristic (82 pages), Scholastic (59 pages), Reformers' (48 pages), Post-Reformation (38 pages) and Modern (40 pages) Exegesis.

The body of the work is preceded by a long preface (xxix. pages), a chronological list of noted interpreters, and a minute table of contents. It is followed by valuable notes (36 pages), a partial bibliography (13 pages), and full indices.

We have here much valuable information in a small compass. Yet the book is anything but dry reading, for the style, though often surcharged with rhetoric, is forcible and clear, the statements made are illumined with illustrations, and the perspective of the subject is well drawn, the subordination of parts to the whole well maintained. This is high praise for a book which deals with so large a theme, particularly in view of the immense range of reading which has ministered to the result, and the corresponding wealth of materials from which the author has had to select the best. His references cover almost the whole literature of the subject, especially those books which gather and summarize the materials from the original sources. The archdeacon's scrupulous care in giving the authorities for his statements merits not only the confidence of the reader, but also the gratitude of the student who may wish to be more fully informed on any of the points discussed. Special mention should be made of the author's fresh and striking way of putting things, and of his lucid explanations of tortuous themes like the Qabbala (page 96 *seq.*).

It must not be forgotten that this book is largely a pioneer, what the Germans call "road-breaking," in its sphere. There exists no History of Biblical Interpretation; hence we should the more welcome this essay. In all the range of materials no one book, no dozen books, could keep company with the author for more than a short stage. With so much to praise, it seems almost invidious to find blemishes, especially as the perspective of a subject and the relative importance of its parts rarely look alike to different observers. It is unfair to judge the book by ordinary canons, since it has to fit the frame of the eight lectures prescribed by John Bampton. Yet our author has allowed his lectures to range from 38 to 82 pages in length, so that we need accept only the necessary limitation of number in describing some seeming errors of omission and commission.

Almost the whole first lecture is either superfluous or misplaced as well as lacking in purpose and plan. This will be clear from a brief enumeration of its topics in their order.

A. Necessity of exegesis, qualifications of the exegete, object of the lectures, manifoldness of the Scriptures (pages 3-8).

B. The history of interpretation is a history of errors. Illustrations of and reasons for this fact (pages 8-12).

C. Seven periods of interpretation. False methods prevalent, yet some good results (pages 12-17).

D. Perils of misinterpretation. Principles of interpretation in different periods (pages 17-27).

E. Task and qualifications of the exegete. False views of inspiration (pages 27-30).

F. Misinterpretation and its results. Contrary aim of lectures (pages 30-43).

The opening lecture might well have begun with a few pages on

Necessity of Exegesis, Its History a History of Errors, Divided into Periods, Aim of the Lectures. The several schedules of principles of interpretation should appear in the discussion of the periods to which they belong, while some of the other topics might have been appropriate to the concluding lecture. But no history of Biblical interpretation can be, even as a sketch, complete which ignores the use of Scripture in Scripture. The first lecture ought, I think, to have treated the self-interpretation of Scripture. The use of the Old Testament by Christ and the speakers and writers in the New Testament should be carefully examined, with the bearing of the principles there involved on the doctrine of inspiration and the rules of hermeneutics. Much of this work has never been systematically done, yet materials are not wanting.¹

This would not only have been a grand field for one so experienced in New Testament exegesis as Archdeacon Farrar, but its cultivation might have made sundry of his utterances respecting the inspiration and interpretation of the Scriptures less sweeping and negative.

Next to the first we find the last lecture the most defective. Exegesis in the modern period receives very scanty treatment, and therefore little justice is done to it. Having given such a continuous history of misinterpretation as leads us to look exclusively to modern times for true exegesis, our author devotes to that period only forty pages, of which the larger part is devoted either to a sketch of philosophy from Leibnitz to Hegel, or to rhetorical rhapsodies on various subjects. The story of modern exegesis is little more than a list of great names, with a sketch of the gradual enlightenment of the Anglican Church from Coleridge to Stanley in its attitude towards science and Scripture. We could not expect as much detail in the treatment of this period as in the case of those which preceded, but three elements of a just review might have been supplied:—

(1.) A description of the modern schools and currents of exegesis and criticism, with their points of view.

(2.) A survey of the field of exegesis and criticism, showing the various views gradually converging to a consensus on many of the main problems, and the issues which are still pending, also a sketch of the rise and progress of Biblical Theology, — all in bold outline, of course.

(3.) A brief analysis of the methods of current exegesis, which would go far towards vindicating the author's position that the modern period has first understood the Scriptures aright.²

Few are better qualified than our author to give such a summary view of modern exegesis.

Minor errors are rare. In view of Dr. Briggs's brilliant essay,³ it is not rash to assert (page 67), "Hillel developed the Halakha and the Haggada; Christ never alluded to the one nor uttered a single specimen of the other"?

And it is strange to read (page 48), "Moses is only mentioned three

¹ E. g., in the best N. T. Commentaries *passim*, in the elaborate works on O. T. quotations in N. T. (Turpie, Tholuck, Toy, Boehl, etc.), in the books on Biblical Theology, and in special essays like Franke's *Das Alte Testament bei Johannes*, Briggs's *Biblical Study*, and the brief hints from Franz Delitzsch in the *O. T. Student* for November, 1886.

² Some hints of these things may be found, e. g., p. 430, and the note p. 473 *seq.*, which gives 12 rules of Hermeneutics.

³ *Biblical Study*, p. 309 *seq.*

times in all the Prophets. The word Sinai does not once occur in them, nor the word High Priest." Any concordance would have shown that *Moses* and *High Priest* occur each *eight* times in the Prophets.

The only bad misprint which I have noticed is page 442, middle, where for Heb. viii. 8 read Neh. viii. 8.

In conclusion : We have styled the book a history of misinterpretation. It is this far too exclusively, conveying, on the whole, a view of the past much too negative and discouraging. True, all these errors were committed, but it is not true that these erroneous interpretations alone adequately represent the exegesis of the Christian Church. Take, for example, the Fathers, and among them Irenæus. A false idea of this Father as an exegete is given by the exhibition of a few vagaries of interpretation over against his hundreds of texts correctly explained in the most straightforward and common-sense manner. Irenæus was, for his day and generation, a remarkably able and sober exegete, but he figures very differently in the archdeacon's pages. Indeed, as if to discredit him completely, that old baseless slander is raked up that he "first suggests the disastrous view that Christ's ransom of our race was paid to Satan" (page 176). The whole book leans too far towards that condemnation of the ancients which its motto disclaims, — quoted, indeed, from Jerome, who needed to disclaim it even more than our author.

All the Christian centuries have understood the general tenor of the Scriptures, though we may well rejoice that our own has shed a new and clearer light on the sacred page. Brave words and true our author speaks in many places against Bibliolatry and verbal inspiration and slavery of all kinds under "the letter that killeth." His book is a vivid object-lesson in "the right and wrong uses of the Bible."

C. J. H. Ropes.

BANGOR, MAINE.

DAS APOSTOLISCHE ZEITALTER DER CHRISTLICHEN KIRCHE. Von CARL WEIZSÄCKER, Professor in Tübingen. 8vo, pp. viii. 698. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr. 1886. 14 Marks.

THIS book marks an epoch in the historiography of the apostolic age, By this is meant, not that it introduces a new method, but that it is an index — and the first great index — of a method already introduced and beginning to prevail among the critical historians of that age. Two radically distinct methods have held the field in the past, — the constructive method of Baur, in which a general conception, evolved ostensibly as an explanation of the facts, is everything, the facts themselves nothing; and the so-called archæological method of Renan, in which a comprehensive view of history is sacrificed to a mass of detailed pictures drawn from archæology, geography, and every possible source of a like kind; in which unimportant details are dressed up with the aid of a glowing fantasy, and made to play the part of weighty historical factors. The method of Weizsäcker is infinitely superior to both, and bears the promise of a better understanding of the history in the future when subjectivity shall still more have given place to realism, — not a petty and servile realism in details, but a realism in which are seen and brought out the vital facts which have made history what it is. Weizsäcker comes to the sources without a preconceived notion of what the history ought to be (based upon a superficial study of a few facts), and endeavors to get from them all that they contain, paying attention to the de-

tails not for their own sake, but for the light which they throw upon the history as a whole. His method is thus at bottom the true one, but it is by no means always carried out, for in many places it is perverted through the influence of the older subjective method from which the author has been unable to free himself entirely.

With Baur, though by no means as strongly as Baur, he emphasizes the conflict between Paulinism and Jewish Christianity. That during his later years Paul was in constant conflict with Judaizing teachers is true enough, but to make this conflict the ruling idea of the history, in fact to divide primitive Christianity (as is done so generally not only by Baur's followers, but even by his opponents) into two and only two parties — Gentile Christians (so-called Paulinists) on the one hand and Jewish Christians on the other — renders a correct view of the apostolic age and of the subsequent history impossible. Paulinism cannot be identified with Gentile Christianity in the ordinary sense as it is known to us from the post-apostolic age. Such a classification as is given by Harnack in his "*Dogmengeschichte*," vol. i., page 64 *seq.*, is much more in accord with the facts.

Weizsäcker is, however, greatly in advance of the old Tübingen School in denying the "tendency" character of the New Testament writings, and he thus cuts away the very foundation of their reconstruction of the apostolic age. In agreement with them (though it can no longer be called a distinctively Tübingen position, as it is held now by the majority of the critical scholars of Germany) he makes the Acts a source of the second rank; regarding Paul's authentic Epistles as the only absolutely trustworthy source, and drawing the history chiefly from them. Of these Epistles he accepts as genuine all but the pastoral Epistles, Ephesians, and 2 Thessalonians, expressing doubts as to Colossians (certainly a healthy advance upon the old critical position). In many cases hardly a reason is given for his summary treatment of the extant sources, and the results reached are often extremely arbitrary, — the silence of the Pauline Epistles being frequently considered sufficient to discredit a statement of the Acts.

The subject is treated under five general divisions: *Die älteste jüdische Gemeinde*; *Der Apostel Paulus*; *Die paulinische Kirche*; *Die weitere Entwicklung*; *Die Gemeinde*: each of which is again subdivided; but the avoidance of the ordinary division into chapters and paragraphs is in keeping with the whole tone of the work, emphasizing the historical unity, and aiding the reader in gaining a comprehensive idea of the history as a whole.

The interest of the work centres in the Jerusalem council, handled as a part of the second division, which should furnish the touchstone by which to judge of Weizsäcker's position. His account of the whole affair, to which he devotes some forty pages, is a model of lucid statement and of historic grouping. As might be expected from his general attitude, he considers the accounts of Acts xv. and of Galatians ii. irreconcilable; but the degree to which he has whittled down the points of conflict is refreshing. Exactly at this most critical point, however, he unfortunately shows more than anywhere else the influence of Baur. He commits a vital error in supposing an acquaintance on the part of the author of the Acts with the Epistle to the Galatians (an acquaintance which his arguments by no means prove). This assumption with his premises drives him to the vicious conclusion that the account of the Acts at this point is an inten-

tional perversion of history. This is contrary to his conduct elsewhere throughout his work, as he in general attributes the supposed untrustworthiness of the Acts solely to the author's lack of information or misinformation. But he has not been able to shake off here the influence of the old school, and the consistency of his outline is greatly marred thereby.

His treatment of the decree of the council is quite interesting. He considers it an authentic historical document, but wrongly supposed by the author of the Acts to be the decree of the Jerusalem council, which would make it inexplicable. He supposes that it was drawn up somewhat later for the purpose of furnishing a basis of fellowship between Gentile and Jewish Christians, the necessity for such action having arisen possibly very soon after the Jerusalem council and probably at Antioch. This hypothesis, it is claimed, explains Paul's disregard and apparent ignorance of the decree, while it recognizes the claims to genuineness which the character of the document itself presents. The theory is ingenious, and is at least more probable than the forgery of the document by the author of the Acts, to which violent and arbitrary assumption the old school felt itself driven. Weizsäcker's concessions in this and other points are significant.

The discussion of Christianity in Rome and of Paul's relation to the church there, which occupies almost eighty pages, is also interesting. The author, in 1876 (in the "*Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*"), just after Holtzmann had proclaimed the final triumph of Baur's opinion, made the very important concession that the Roman congregation was essentially Gentile Christian, and this position he still maintains. He argues, however, as he did then, and that with great convincingness, that the Epistle was written with an anti-Judaizing purpose to combat Judaizing teachers who were making themselves felt in Rome as they had elsewhere throughout Paul's mission field. He takes his stand therefore, and that justly, against the opinion that the Epistle was written with a purely didactic aim.

Lack of space compels me to pass over many other important points, but I may simply mention the position of the author in relation to the books of the New Testament. He dates the Acts and the Gospel of Luke from the end of the first century, and the synoptics from a time subsequent to the destruction of Jerusalem. The Johannine literature he ascribes to the school of John. "The Apocalypse and the fourth Gospel are too unlike to have come from the same hand, but enough alike to point to the same place." The Apocalypse was begun before the destruction of Jerusalem, but cannot have been completed until after the end of the first century. The place and date of composition of the Epistle to the Hebrews are uncertain, but it was well known and widely used in Rome at the time when Clement wrote to the Corinthians. It was probably not an Epistle originally, the epistolary form having been given it by a later hand. The Epistle of James is a witness of the Ebionism of the congregation at Pella after its severance from the church catholic. 1 Peter was written under Trajan, and 2 Peter still later.

Romans xvi. was addressed originally to the church at Ephesus. It is worthy of notice that even Weiss in his New Testament introduction concedes this, but the point is still sharply disputed. At this point, as at many others, Weizsäcker's arguments are far from convincing. He conveys the impression in many cases that the position which he holds is already universally accepted and needs little support, when, in fact, some

of those positions are sharply and widely contested. One of his characteristics (by no means peculiar to him however) is to treat whatever he accepts as proved beyond the shadow of a doubt. The impression of this in the present work is heightened by the total lack of references to authorities, as if no further investigation of the subject were necessary upon the part of the reader. It is but just, however, to say, that the book, when compared with many histories of the apostolic age, is worthy of distinction for its candor and fairness. The work is written in a fascinating style, and is throughout a model of clearness and comprehensiveness. The author's seeming audacity in issuing the work without a word of preface or introduction, with no notes and no references to the works of others, is somewhat startling. The interest and beauty of his presentation are thus enhanced, but the work is rendered much less useful as a text-book.

Judged from the point of view of the modern critical school, it is a model composition, and it cannot but be welcomed as in the main vastly superior to the unhistorical, subjective, pseudo-philosophical work of the old critical school, — which unfortunately is not yet entirely extinct.

Arthur C. McGiffert.

MARBURG, PRUSSIA.

THE IGNATIAN EPISTLES ENTIRELY SPURIOUS. A Reply to the Right Rev. Dr. Lightfoot, Bishop of Durham. By W. D. KILLEN, D. D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History, and Principal of the Presbyterian Theological Faculty, Ireland. 16mo, pp. vi., 90. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford. 1886. \$1.00.

THIS is a remarkable book. In ninety pages the author undertakes to demolish the genuineness of the seven Vossian Epistles of Ignatius as defended in Bishop Lightfoot's "Ignatius and Polycarp." Let us see how. He first impugns the accuracy of Bishop Lightfoot's list of authorities for his own side of the question (page 6 *seq.* : —

"He [Bishop Lightfoot] mentions Ussher and Bentley among those who espouse his sentiments. According to our author there cannot be a 'shadow of doubt' that the seven Vossian Epistles 'represent the genuine Ignatius.' 'No Christian writings of the second century,' says he, 'and very few writings of antiquity, whether Christian or pagan, are so well authenticated.' He surely cannot imagine that Ussher would have endorsed such statements; for he knows well that the Primate of Armagh condemned the Epistle to Polycarp as a forgery. He has still less reason to claim Bentley on his side." [The italics are mine.]

From the above one would gather: (1.) That Ussher was adduced as sharing the subjoined "sentiments" and "statements" of the bishop. (2.) That Ussher's rejection of the Epistle to Polycarp was the salient fact in his attitude towards Ignatius, putting him on the opposite side of the controversy from the bishop. (3.) That so Bishop Lightfoot has little reason to claim Ussher, and therefore less to claim Bentley. Nothing could be further from the truth! Who would infer that Ussher was the first great champion of the Vossian Epistles, and that his rejection of the Epistle to Polycarp alone (misled by Jerome) was an inconsistency and a mistake from every point of view? The "sentiments," etc., are found i. vii., 407,¹ in no connection with Ussher. It is not Bishop Lightfoot who misrepresents Ussher's attitude.

¹ References to Bishop Lightfoot's *Ignatius and Polycarp*, being frequent, will be given only by volume and page.

The like is true of Bentley. Dr. Killen brings up a story of Bentley's having "on occasion of a Divinity act" "made a speech condemning the Epistles of S. Ignatius," and "refused to hear the Respondent who attempted to reply," — and then asks : —

"Does Dr. Lightfoot bring forward any evidence to contradict this piece of collegiate history? None whatever. He merely treats us to a few of his own *conjectures*, which simply prove his anxiety to depreciate its significance. And yet he ventures to parade the name of Bentley among those who contend for the genuineness of these letters."

The truth, which Dr. Killen omits, is that Bishop Lightfoot quotes (i. 317) from Bentley's works (ii. 29) a passage which plainly implies his acceptance of the Vossian Epistles. Confronting this with the University story Bishop Lightfoot naturally *conjectures* that, to reconcile them, we may suppose the speech of Bentley was against the longer Recension, — just as (he adds) when Ussher championed the Vossian Epistles, but rejected the longer Recension: "I could not but smile," writes Hammond to Ussher, "when I was of late required by the London ministers to answer the objections you had made to the Epistles of Ignatius."

I really almost wonder that Dr. Killen, who takes nearly all his materials for criticising Bishop Lightfoot out of the bishop's own pages, did not quote this letter (from "I was of late") to show that Ussher rejected Ignatius!

Again, in the case of Porson Dr. Killen garbles the full and conclusive statement of Bishop Lightfoot and misrepresents the whole. These are matters of small moment, except as showing the spirit and temper of Dr. Killen as a critic.

Dr. Killen next proceeds to caricature Bishop Lightfoot's parallel between Ignatius and Lucian's "Peregrinus." He entirely misrepresents the points in which Bishop Lightfoot finds the parallel, and adduces in their stead those in which Ignatius and Peregrinus lie furthest apart, ridiculing the whole thing. This is not criticism. And then he assumes that the bishop feels obliged to rely on Lucian, thus travestied, for want of better witnesses, because "any port in a storm," — to save the Ignatian Epistles from shipwreck, forsooth!

In chapter second, Dr. Killen accepts Polycarp's Epistle, but rejects its testimony to those of Ignatius, affirming that it was written A. D. 161, because

(1) Polycarp was martyred 169, and therefore was only 24, when Ignatius was martyred (107), while the Epistle was evidently written by an older man;

(2) Polycarp bids men pray for *kings* (or *the kings*). In 107 there was only one emperor, Trajan;

(3) Polycarp's letter was written when persecution was rife, which it was not in 107, but was in 161, and "the whole strain of this letter points to the reign of Marcus Aurelius;"

(4) Ignatius's letters were written from Smyrna and Troas. Those Polycarp refers to from Philippi;

(5) Ignatius's letters describe him as solitary, Polycarp's as "one among a crowd of victims;"

(6) Polycarp shows no sign of having received the directions given in the Epistle of Ignatius to Polycarp.

(1.) Will be noticed later.

(2.) It is not flattering to the knowledge of his readers for Dr. Killen

to revamp this old objection. "For kings" is a general expression used in the New Testament, and by Tertullian and Origen, without any reference to the number of emperors. (Cf. i. 576, Zahn, *Pat. Apost. Opp.*, ed. iii., Fasc. ii., p. 130.)

(3.) Bishop Lightfoot has shown the utter weakness of this objection (i. 1-22). We know of at least three persecutions under Trajan.

(4.) This is not true. Polycarp does mention (c. 13) a letter *from the Philippians* to be forwarded to Syria at their and Ignatius's request, but this is not a letter by Ignatius, of which Polycarp mentions that he is sending several to Philippi, without indicating where they were written.

(5.) It is very probable that when Ignatius reached Philippi, other Christian prisoners might join him there. Polycarp mentions two, beside Ignatius, by name, and others besides who were of Philippi, but he does not imply that these were all together, for he includes with them also Paul and the other apostles as examples of endurance. There is no "crowd" whatever.

(6.) In several of the epistles Ignatius asks that messengers be sent to Antioch. Polycarp plainly refers to this request as preferred in Ignatius's letters to the Smyræans, and to Polycarp, and in the letter of the Philippians. Now as he was writing to the Philippians after Ignatius had left them, and was referring to these three requests for the same thing, it would be improbable that he should specially advert to the peculiar form of the request in the letter of Ignatius to which he was not then directly replying.¹

All these five objections are nugatory. But then comes Dr. Killen's harder task: if Polycarp's letter was written A. D. 161, how are its allusions to be explained? Dr. Killen goes to work heroically. He invents a *new* Ignatius of Philippi — (as, later, a *third*, of Lyons) — and a new Syria to which letters were to be sent, and hangs his whole proof on a mistranslation of one passage in Polycarp's Epistle and a worthless reading in another!

Ignatius of Philippi (page 21 *seq.*). Dr. Killen says:—

"Ignatius or Egnatius was not a very rare designation; and in the neighborhood of Philippi it seems to have been common. The famous Egnatian road which passed through the place probably derived its title originally from some distinguished member of the family. We learn from the letter of Polycarp that his Ignatius was a man of Philippi: 'In the blessed Ignatius, and Zosimus, and Rufus, and IN OTHERS ALSO AMONG YOURSELVES.' These words surely mean that the individuals here named were men of Philippi. It is admitted that two of them, namely, Zosimus and Rufus, answered to this description; and in the Latin martyrologies, as Dr. Lightfoot himself acknowledges, they are said to have been natives of the town. It will require the introduction of some novel canon of criticism to enable us to avoid the conclusion that Ignatius, their companion, is not to be classed in the same category."

There is absolutely no evidence that Ignatius was a common name in or near Philippi. The Egnatian road, as Dr. Killen ought to know, derived its name from Egnatia in Apulia, which is probably connected with the old Samnite family-name. Dr. Lightfoot quotes the martyrologies, but says that they evidently know of Zosimus and Rufus only through Polycarp, and implies that making them Philippians was probably an error (ii. 921). There is no evidence in the context that either Zosimus, or Rufus, or Ignatius was a Philippian; on the contrary, they are

¹ Cf. ii. 931.

expressly distinguished from some others, not named, who were Philippians: ἐν τοῖς μακαρίοις Ἰγνατίῳ καὶ Ζωσίμῳ καὶ Ρούφῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐξ ἡμῶν, — which is correctly translated by Bishop Lightfoot (ii. 1054) . . . "yea and in others also, who came from among yourselves." This implies that Ignatius, Zosimus, and Rufus are *not* Philippians, or at least are explicitly separated from those who are of Philippi. Dr. Killen has simply mistranslated the Greek. Dr. Killen proceeds to describe the captivity and tortures of Zosimus and Rufus *from his imagination*, so as to locate them under M. Aurelius! On page 36 *seq.* Dr. Killen reads Bishop Lightfoot a lecture on the "accuracy" of Eusebius as "a recorder of facts," etc. It is worth noticing that *here* Eusebius quotes in full this passage from Polycarp, as referring to Ignatius of Antioch, who suffered under Trajan, not to "Ignatius of Philippi, who was martyred under M. Aurelius!" The same is true of the Ignatius of Lyons, to be noticed later. It remained for Dr. Killen thus to show how curious a collection of mistakes and anachronisms is gathered in Eusebius, H. E. iii. 36! Dr. Killen then quotes from Polycarp (c. 13) a passage which should read: "Ye wrote to me, both ye yourselves and Ignatius, asking that if any one should go to Syria he might carry thither the letter from you likewise." Here Bishop Lightfoot's translation is slightly faulty, as compared with his own notes¹ and translation elsewhere, omitting *likewise* and writing *letters* for *letter*. It refers (as he explains) to "the letter from you Philippians as well as that from us Smyrnaeans." The old Latin version here reads: "*My letters to you.*" Of course this is excluded by the better manuscript evidence of the Greek in Eusebius, and "required by the presence of the *καὶ*" (ii. 932). But for Dr. Killen the Latin alone has the true reading. He says that the sentence as generally read "wears a strange and suspicious aspect;" because, forsooth, "if the Philippians wished their letters to be carried to *Antioch*, why did they not say so?" The answer, I take it, is that the phrase implies any messenger who might be going that way. If so, they would not wait necessarily for one who was going to Antioch, but take the first chance of getting the letters to the province, Syria, in which many messengers to its capital would readily be found. But of course with the old Latin reading, "Syria" is simply impossible. No one in Polycarp's location (Smyrna) would send letters to Syria *via* Philippi. So Dr. Killen adds "a very simple explanation" to "remove this difficulty." Syria means not the province, but one of two islands, Psyria (Psyra) or Syra (Syros). But I find no evidence that the former ever was written without the *P*, or that either of them ends in *ia*, except in Homer, and there it is probably adjectival. Such identifications are not even plausible, and any reason for Polycarp's being asked to intrust one going to Psyra or Syros with letters for Philippi must be far less cogent than the probability of his sending letters to Antioch by one going to Syria. Nor is there any difficulty in Polycarp's going to Antioch, as Dr. Killen avers, since he was under forty. If he was seventy-eight, as Dr. Killen believes, why should he go to one of these little islands, to take in person thither letters intended for Philippi? It would be easy to show other absurdities in this theory, but these are surely enough.

In chapter third Dr. Killen attacks Bishop Lightfoot's date (155) for Polycarp's martyrdom, and would substitute his own (169).

The bishop shows easily that the arrangement of the persecutions in

¹ Cf. ii. 1056, 931 *seq.*; i. 574.

Eusebius's Chronicon was not strictly chronological (i. 629 *seq.*). Dr. Killen by conveniently garbled extracts makes the argument appear absurd.

But it is on the bishop's elaborate discussion, favoring 155 as the date of Polycarp's martyrdom, that Dr. Killen's full talent for caricature comes into play. The date rests on a number of convergent testimonies and highly probable combinations, impossible if the result be twenty years out of the way. Such are: the mention of Statius Quadratus the proconsul, and Philip of Tralles the Asiarch in the old documents; the Ephesian inscription and medal fixing the date of Julianus's proconsulate; the very probable evidence of Aristides (*pace* Killen) for 155 as the proconsulate of Statius Quadratus, fortified by the naturalness of the interval after his known consulate in 142; finally, the evidence that Philip was asiarch in 155. Dr. Killen's date, 169, is well-nigh impossible. He quotes from the bishop that Ummidius Quadratus was consul in 167, adding, "and it would appear that about 169, on the ground of exceptional ability and influence, he was appointed to the proconsulship." "*It would appear*" covers a multitude of sins. The law forbade consuls being proconsuls till after five years' interval, which seniority often increased to fifteen. While seniority was sometimes disregarded for merit or influence, there is no proof, so far as I know, that *the law* ever was. S. Quadratus was consul in 142; Dr. Killen shrinks from postponing his proconsulate to 169, but it is less probable that U. Quadratus, consul in 167, was made proconsul in 169.

The chronology of Eusebius is next adduced as showing in the Church History that Anicetus, whom Polycarp visited at Rome, did not become bishop till 157 or 158. Here the investigations of Lipsius¹ show how little reliance is to be placed on these dates. If we depend on Eusebius, his Chronicon (Armenian version) puts the accession of Anicetus A. D. 152. In his Church History, Eusebius starts with 66 as the date of the Neronian persecution, while Eusebius's Chronicon makes it 67. Thus all the subsequent dates are two or three years too late, which would make Anicetus bishop in 155 or 154. But Eusebius is only one among many witnesses for the chronology of the Roman bishops, and his chronology is his weak point.² On the whole, the probability is that Anicetus succeeded Pius not later than 154. Dr. Killen says incidentally that Zahn does not support 155 as the date of Polycarp's martyrdom. This is an error [see *Patr. Apost. Opp.* ed. iii. Fasc. 2, page 165 (1876)], which is doubly culpable, as Bishop Lightfoot gives the reference.

Finally Dr. Killen adduces the fact that there seems to have been only one emperor at the time of the martyrdom (cf. i. 650). This applies to 169. But so it does to 155, only not to many of the years in between. It is no argument against 155, but only against 161-169.

Chapter IV. discusses the testimony of Irenæus (*Adv. Hær.* v. 28. 4): "One of our people said, when condemned to the beasts on account of his testimony towards God,— 'As I am the wheat of God, I am also ground by the teeth of beasts that I may be found the pure bread of God.'"

Dr. Killen first argues that Irenæus cannot have known Ignatius because he does not quote him copiously and by name. This is a relash of Dailé's argument often refuted, and most thoroughly by Bishop Lightfoot, i. 324 *seq.* But Dr. Killen adds to Dailé, and his additions are

¹ *Chronologie der Röm. Bischöfe*, Kiel, 1869. Cf. pp. 6-8, 13, 263.

² Cf. i. 620 *seq.*, 624 *seq.*, 629 *seq.*, 631, 696, 702.

weaker yet. He says: "The expression 'one of our people' cannot refer to Ignatius because it is not respectful," etc. The phrase is *τῆς τῶν ἡμετέρων*. Does not Dr. Killen know that *οἱ ἡμετέροι* is an early Christian designation of "the brethren," first found in Tit. iii. 14, and used, for example, in Euseb. H. E. vi. 2?

Dr. Killen attributes the quotation to some fellow-citizen and contemporary of Irenæus! It is then singular that in the immediate context Irenæus uses language directly borrowed from this same Epistle of Ignatius to the Romans, and that in a number of places he uses language closely parallel to the Epistles of Ignatius (i. 135, 326 f.). But it is doubly strange that the "careful and accurate" Eusebius should attribute this passage in Irenæus, as well as the references in Polycarp's Epistle, above, quoting them exactly, to Ignatius of Antioch, never once referring to his namesakes of Lyons and Philippi, and that *he* evidently did not feel the incongruity and impropriety of Irenæus calling Ignatius "one of our people." Dr. Killen gives lessons in patristic Greek not only to Bishop Lightfoot, but also to Eusebius!

The rest of Dr. Killen's book treats of "the rise of Prelacy," and of the forgery of the Ignatian Epistles by Callistus, Bishop of Rome, from 219 A. D! Dr. Killen does not explain the numerous parallels to passages of Ignatius in writers before Callistus; but the direct quotations were of course craftily adopted by Callistus! It would be wasting time to tear to pieces such a manifest absurdity. We have touched on all the criticisms speciously controverting Bishop Lightfoot's great work, whose great value is our apology for taxing the reader's patience with this vindication.

C. J. H. Ropes.

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, BANGOR, MAINE.

SPECULATIONS. SOLAR HEAT, GRAVITATION, AND SUN SPOTS. By J. H. KEDZIE. 12mo, pp. xii., 304. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1886. \$1.50.

THIS is an attempt to solve three of the most difficult problems of Astronomical Physics. The Conservation of Energy is the principle, and the Universal Ether is the instrument, employed. "The universal ether is still the abode of the whole sum total of all the energy with which it was replete in the nebular state." This energy exists as "ethereal vibrations," which pulsate against the heavenly bodies in all directions, except as intercepted by intervening bodies; but when thus intercepted, the impacts tend to drive the bodies together according to the laws of gravitation. These waves "change suddenly to heat at the sun," but "during long progresses through space turn to mechanical force, etc., only to reappear as heat in the solar orbs *ad eternum*."

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Mr. Kedzie's conception of the physical universe is a grand one, and his theory of its laws very suggestive. There is often a happy ingenuity displayed in grouping the results of modern research to strengthen his position. Still, as we examine the theory in detail, it is far from being satisfactory: the explanation given to the so-called second law of gravitation being especially inadequate. Such a book is noteworthy as showing that

scientists, as well as theologians, are continually pushing out by inference and hypothesis into the inviting but unexplored regions of knowledge, which the universe, physical and spiritual, constantly presents to us.

D. Butler Pratt.

ANDOVER.

GERMAN THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Christliche Eschatologie, von Th. Kliefoth. 8vo, pp. iv., 351. Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke. 1886. Price 11 Mks. A systematic presentation and discussion of the doctrine of eschatology, by the author of the well-known commentary upon the Apocalypse. The work is written from the strictly conservative stand-point, and rejects all conclusions which are not in keeping with traditional orthodoxy. There is, however, much that is new and fresh in the method of discussion at various points, and considerable originality in minor matters, though in all important points the traditional positions are firmly held. The book furnishes an excellent presentation of the doctrine of the church upon this subject. [Fuller notice hereafter.] — *Judenthum und Judenchristenthum: eine Nachlese zu der "Ketzergeschichte des Urchristenthums,"* von Adolf Hilgenfeld. 8vo, pp. 122. Leipzig: Fues. 1886. Price 2.40 Mks. An investigation of the nature of Jewish Christianity, based upon a careful study of the Jewish and Jewish-Christian heresies. The work is undertaken in opposition to the conception of Jewish Christianity presented in Harnack's "Dogmengeschichte." Hilgenfeld's conception is not identical with Baur's, but bears a close resemblance to it, and it is over against this old and common conception that Harnack has argued with great force. Hilgenfeld's book is, as might be expected, very learned, and furnishes a great deal of useful material in regard to details, but contributes little of importance toward the solution of the problem as a whole. — *L. Annaeus Seneca und seine Beziehungen zum Urchristenthum*, von Johannes Kreyher. 8vo, pp. viii., 198. Berlin: Gaertner. 1887. Price 5 Mks. A very interesting study of Seneca's character and of his relation to Christianity. The author concludes that Seneca was by no means a morally perfect man, but still, in consideration of his surroundings, a respectable man in spite of his weaknesses. He must have been acquainted with Christianity even before Paul's arrival in Rome, and especially afterward, when his relations to it were undoubtedly of a friendly character, and he must have interceded in Paul's favor with Nero. The tradition of a correspondence between Paul and Seneca may well be true, though the extant epistles attributed to them date from the Middle Ages. The author takes occasion also to discuss the Simon Magus tradition and the tradition of Peter's residence in Rome, maintaining, over against Lipsius, a genuine historical basis in both cases. — *Beiträge zum Ausgleich zwischen Alt-testamentlicher Geschichtserzählung, Zeitrechnung und Prophetie einerseits, und assyrischen nebst babylonischen Keilinschriften andererseits*, von Nikolaus Howard. 8vo, pp. xxix., 290. Gotha: Perthes. 1887. Price 5 Mks. This book, as the author informs us in his preface, is intended as a defense of the truth of Scripture, and belongs, therefore, to the department of apologetics. The author thinks the point which at present most needs defending against the enemies

of Christianity is the chronology of the Old Testament over against the recent chronological results gathered from cuneiform inscriptions. With such an idea of the importance of his subject he of course enters upon its discussion with great earnestness. He is sanguine enough to think that this may be the last attack which the Word of God will have to suffer; for "deutet nicht, alles darauf, dass in sehr naher Zukunft das persönliche Wort Gottes erscheinen wird zum andern Mal?" The author's method consists in impeaching, in cases where there is a discrepancy between the chronology of the inscriptions and that of the Bible, the accuracy of the inscriptions themselves, and hence the reliability of the chronology drawn from them. In addition to the defense of Biblical chronology the book includes an independent study in the chronology of the Kings. — *Biblische Chronologie und Zeitrechnung der Hebräer*, von Dr. Eduard Mahler. 8vo, pp. xiv., 204. Wien: Konegen. 1887. Price 7 Mks. This book, which has no reference to apologetics, is an attempt to fix the chief dates of Old Testament history by means of eclipses, of which an astonishing number are brought into play and made to prove a great deal, certainly with ingenuity, often by means of a most amazing exegesis, chiefly rabbinical. The author accepts, in addition to the chronological statements of the Bible, and with apparently as complete confidence, those of ancient Hebrew traditions, and, building upon these with the help of his astronomy, informs us of the exact date, to a day, of the Exodus, then of the covenant with Abraham, of the birth of Isaac, etc., continuing his investigations through the period of the kings. The second part of the book is devoted to the "Zeitrechnung der Hebräer," and includes numerous chronological tables, among them one for determining the dates of the Jewish feasts for a number of centuries. — *Kritische Untersuchungen über den Inhalt der beiden Briefe des Apostels Paulus an die korinthische Gemeinde mit Rücksicht auf die in ihr herrschenden Streitigkeiten*, von J. F. Rübiger, Prof. in Breslau. Zweite, nach den neuesten Forschungen vervollständigte, Ausgabe. 8vo, pp. viii., 319. Breslau: Morgenstern. 1886. Price 5 Mks. This monograph, which appeared in its first edition nearly forty years ago, is interesting chiefly on account of its treatment of the so-called "Christus-Partei" in Corinth, the existence of which it denies altogether, recognizing only the Paul, Apollos, and Cephas parties. Although the author has been followed in this opinion by few scholars he yet defends it in this edition as strongly as in the first. Indeed, the second edition is throughout essentially a reproduction of the first, with the addition of a discussion of modern literature upon the subject, and it is this discussion which gives the second edition its chief value and justifies the mention of it. — *Die Offenbarung Johannis keine ursprünglich jüdische Apokalypse: Eine Streitschrift gegen die Herren Harnack und Vischer*, von Daniel Völter, Prof. in Amsterdam. Pp. 49. Tübingen: Heckenhauer. 1886. Price 1 Mk. Völter is the author of the theory, published about four years ago, that the Apocalypse is a compilation produced by a series of writers between 65 and 170 A. D. His work was in one sense a preparation for the work of Vischer, but he now attacks the new theory with great fierceness though with little force. His pamphlet is the first extended notice which Vischer's theory has received, and it exposes justly some of the weak points of Vischer's presentation, but as an answer to the theory as a whole it is a failure. It is in the main simply a pressing of his theory (universally rejected by scholars) over against Vischer's, and of the two the latter remains by far

the sounder. Völter's pamphlet is unfortunately greatly injured by the spirit in which it is written.

PERIODICALS.

In connection with Völter's pamphlet we may call attention to an article which, although by a Netherlander, not by a German, yet deserves remark in this connection. The article is by G. J. Weyland, and is entitled *Compilatie-en Overvekingen-Hypothesen toegepast op de Apokalypse van Johannes*: in the "Theologische Studien" (Utrecht), 1886, no. 6, pp. 454-470. It is remarkable that this article broaches a theory almost identical with that of Vischer and in entire independence of the latter, which was not known to Weyland until after the completion of his article. Weyland differs with Vischer in assuming two Jewish Apocalypses as the base, but into the question as to the unity of the original Vischer did not enter. The article is much briefer than Vischer's pamphlet, and consists of statements rather than arguments, but is very significant as an independent support for the theory. The Christian additions assumed by Weyland, although they naturally differ somewhat from those given by Vischer, are yet in the main in remarkable agreement with them. — *Der Epheser Brief*, von H. von Soden: "Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie," Jahrgang xiii., Heft I., pp. 103-135. The same writer (whose studies upon various Epistles are justly famous) discussed the Epistle to the Colossians in the same journal in 1885, concluding that, with the exception of a few minor interpolations, it was written by Paul. He denies that the Epistle to the Ephesians can be divided in the same way. He intends to discuss the Epistle under three heads: its Composition, Doctrinal Contents, Origin; but he treats only the first head in the present article, maintaining that the author, while drawing largely from many of Paul's Epistles, uses no particular one in preference to the others except in the second practical part, where Colossians is closely followed. He rejects the hypothesis that Paul wrote Colossians and Ephesians at the same time, claiming that they exhibit an entirely different circle of thought. — We may simply mention an interesting study in the history of the Reformation by Lic. Voight: *Melancthon's und Bugenhagen's Stellung zum Interim, und die Rechtfertigung des letzteren in seinem Johannes Commentar*: "Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie," Jahrgang xiii., Heft I., pp. 1-38.

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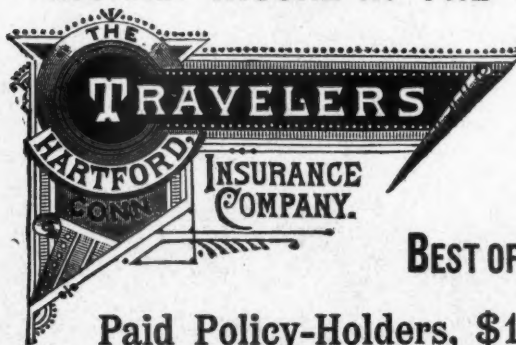
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